

**CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS IN THE
FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM**

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the concept of critical language awareness both in principle and practice. It begins with an exploration of the key principles which inform CLA and concludes with an account of a particular study of a foreign language classroom.

CLA, as presented in the thesis, is seen as an essentially practical, classroom based enterprise which is indebted in various ways to particular understandings about the nature of texts and interpretative processes. Early chapters locate CLA within studies of text and discourse, the reading process and classroom interaction respectively. The first chapter presents the view that CLA takes its theoretical bearings largely from critical discourse analysis. Discussion centres around major points of departure between critical and conventional kinds of discourse analysis. Chapter two focuses on the role of the reader in text analysis, arguing for the need to locate critical reading within the wider concept of critical literacy. Chapter three proposes the need to develop a model of critical pedagogy which has the potential to enhance awareness of texts and readings within the context of the classroom community.

Chapter four offers a bridge between the conceptual underpinnings of the study and the subsequent chapters which present the empirical part of the thesis. It describes the research methodology which informs the classroom study. Chapters five, six and seven respectively, provide an account of the rationale for the particular course at the centre of the study, in terms of the texts and classroom procedures which were selected; they also present an analysis of key features of selected classroom episodes. Chapter eight assesses the students' own views about the manner in which their critical judgements of texts and practices have evolved during the CLA course. The thesis concludes by drawing some lessons for future explorations of both the principles and practice of critical language awareness.

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- A small proportion of chapter one appeared in a modified form in a chapter, Wallace C 1995 ‘ ‘Reading with a suspicious eye’: Critical Reading in the foreign language classroom’ in G. Cook and B. Seidlhofer (eds) *Principle and Practice in Applied Linguistics* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- An adapted version of parts of chapter two appeared in Wallace C 1996 ‘Critical Reading in the Foreign Language Classroom’ in *To Read in a Foreign Language* TRIANGLE 14 Goethe Institute/The British Council/ENS Credif

INTRODUCTION

CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

The research is premised on the belief that it is possible to teach students to be critically aware as readers in a foreign language through the selection of certain kinds of texts and classroom procedures. The study will examine key features of text and discourse, the reading process and the classroom learning context which appear to be implicated in the enhancement of critical reading.

Chapter one will locate the concept of critical awareness within a discussion of texts, drawing particularly on work in critical discourse analysis. Chapter two will relate critical awareness to studies of the reading process: how does the promotion of a critical stance in reading fit with current approaches to reading pedagogy? And as this approach to reading invites students to read not just the text as a product but processes of production and reception, the context of interpretation - the classroom itself - will be discussed in a further chapter on critical pedagogy. This will look at how meanings are constructed from texts brought into the classroom within the wider context of the 'classroom text'.

In general the study will be exploratory rather than explanatory. Although the classroom study was set up with clear aims and objectives in mind, these were modified in the course of the study. While the focus on critical awareness remained constant, some aspects of texts, readings and classroom interaction came into sharper relief and seemed worthy of closer investigation as the study progressed.

Background to the study: Previous interests and experience

My research is motivated by my own teaching and research interests described more fully below and by a belief that critical perspectives to pedagogy in general and the teaching of reading in particular have been largely absent in foreign and second language teaching until recently. In particular there has been an almost complete

absence of discussion of questions of ideology, although some attention has been paid to cultural factors in language learning and in teaching materials.

The research is related on the one hand to an interest in the ways in which writers' lexical and syntactic choices promote and reinforce certain ideologies and, on the other, to an ongoing interest in the reading strategies of advanced learners of English, in particular their ability to read critically. My interest has developed over some years through teaching successive groups of students for whom English is a foreign or second language and to whom I have presented a range of text types, procedures for text study, metalinguistic tools and linguistic terms, seen to be appropriate to their level of English language proficiency and their aims in learning English.

The research draws on three areas of study to be clarified in the theoretical part of the thesis. These are:

1. **Critical Discourse Analysis.** This will involve examination of the ways in which linguists working largely within a systemic/functional framework have offered tools for a discourse analysis where texts are viewed as being socially produced and interpreted.
2. **Reading Research.** This area of research will be interpreted in terms of differences between psycholinguistic and sociocultural orientations to reading research, as they affect the foreign language reader. The aim will be to present differences of emphasis between orthodox or conventional approaches to the teaching of reading and critical ones.
3. **Critical Pedagogy.** Because this is a classroom based study procedures for critical analysis and discussion of written texts will need to be located in a pedagogic framework which will itself require critical scrutiny.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

KEY CONCEPTS : CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE ROLE OF THE TEXT IN CRITICAL LANGUAGE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Over the past few years there has been much discussion of critical discourse analysis, critical language awareness, critical literacy and critical pedagogy. I shall use the term CLA (for critical language awareness), as the pedagogic arm of critical discourse analysis, to cover all aspects of classroom language work which aim to promote critical awareness of the nature of texts and language behaviour. As noted in the introduction, the broad question to be addressed in this thesis is : what does CLA mean in terms of classroom teaching, - what potential does it have as a tool for developing a new or differently focused pedagogy? In attempting to answer this question, I shall first look at key features of this field of enquiry before, in the empirical section of the work, describing how they come into play in the classroom context, in particular with foreign language learners.

The term 'language awareness' began to be used by modern languages teachers, and, to a lesser extent, mothertongue English teachers in the late nineteen seventies. This interest found expression in published language awareness materials such as those devised by Hawkins (1984). The National Congress on Languages in Education report of 1985 sees language awareness programmes, (as noted in James and Garrett 1991:4) as developing awareness within three broad parameters, i.e. a cognitive one which develops awareness of pattern in language; an affective one, relating to language attitudes, and a social one, for example, improving pupils' effectiveness as citizens and consumers.

However, the underlying aims of typical language awareness work were challenged in a series of papers entitled 'Critical Language Awareness' (Clark et al 1990/1) which claimed that language awareness took language conventions at face value and looked at language behaviour and phenomena in fairly global and general

ways. So, although issues of social diversity were addressed, there tended to be little or no consideration of the social influences which led to one variety or use of language being seen as more appropriate than any other for certain purposes. In particular, what was missing, it was claimed, was any consideration of power - how relations of power are implicated in the creation of linguistic conventions and are continually recreated in everyday discourse. Clark et al set out an agenda for a CLA which would look at issues of diversity and inequality in more rigorous ways by promoting a closer more critical analysis of both contextual and textual features of spoken and written language.

My aim here is to present a case for a CLA pedagogy in the foreign language classroom and to exemplify some of its key principles through the description, analysis and critique of a one-semester course, which aimed to enhance awareness of contextual and textual aspects of written language and was entitled 'Critical Reading'. It was taught to undergraduate students in a multilingual, multicultural class at Thames Valley University, in West London.

What we might mean by critical reading will be explored throughout this thesis. For the moment we can say that as a procedure it involves developing an awareness of certain features of texts and a richer understanding of the nature of the reading process. And as this thesis describes the attempt to teach something called critical reading in a course of that name, I am also concerned with the nature of classroom interaction - how meanings are negotiated not just between reader and writer but between all participants in a classroom setting. In the first three chapters I shall therefore say something about the role of the TEXT, READER/s and CLASSROOM setting as constituents in a series of discursive events we call 'lessons' before going on to describe the particular study. First we need to say more about the role of critical discourse analysis (or CDA) as a guiding orientation to the whole project, - what its salient characteristics are and to what extent it has the potential to offer useful tools for the description and analysis of texts in the language classroom.

1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

One cannot address the issue of CDA without some attempt to relate it to the wider field of discourse analysis. The two major questions to be addressed here are, therefore, what do we understand by discourse analysis and how does it differ in significant ways from CDA. Even the term 'critical' itself should immediately raise questions. For arguably any kind of analysis to be worthy of the name should be critical (c.f. Lankshear 1994) who notes (5) that 'Critical goes into battle without any clear meaning, but with a lot of work to do'. The ways in which the term has been put to use in terms of literacy and pedagogy will be explored in the following two chapters. In this section I shall look at some developments within the field of what has come to be very broadly known as discourse analysis and discuss the ways in which CDA can be located within this field. We may then be in a better position to consider various meanings of discourse itself and its relationship to text.

Discourse analysis is a synthesis of a number of different approaches to the study of language in context. What they all share is an interest not in decontextualised idealised language but in language in use (cf. Cook 1989). Most approaches are indebted in different ways to Speech Act theory, established through the work of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) which was concerned with relating the actual words spoken with communicative intent; or, put rather differently, with linking sentences to utterances- the former decontextualised and idealised, the latter taking on meaning in context. While the early Speech Act work looked largely at individual utterance level, dealing for example with how a particular form of words might in some situations constitute a promise, a warning or an act of marriage, discourse analysts have concerned themselves with identifying communicative intent in longer stretches of language; their interest is in the ways in which speech acts or functions are sequenced in spoken or written language, monologue or dialogue and, in particular, in the ways in which we are able to establish coherence between utterances even in the absence of formal markers of cohesion.

In the search for organisational principles in the construction of meaning, the philosopher Paul Grice (1975) put forward what he called the Co-operative Principle; he argued that even an event like conversation far from being random and chaotic as

commonly supposed was logically ordered around maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner by which all human societies and groups within them expressed the wish to cooperate in shared understanding of one another. In similar ways, the German philosopher Jurgen Habermas has invoked (1979) the principle of a 'Universal Pragmatics' which is concerned not so much with principles of conversation as with rational enquiry and the ways in which claims to truth and truthfulness can be adjudicated in discussion among equals. This work will be discussed more fully in chapter 3.

Some analysts have looked at structured, staged interactions in specific situations such as classrooms or courtrooms. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) , for instance, looked at patterns of interaction in classrooms; others have looked at the organisational structure of written texts. Thus, Widdowson, for instance, (1979) pointed out the way in which apparently singly authored texts are in fact jointly constructed in that a reader is anticipated by the writer; the work of the Russian philosopher Bakhtin, who sees all utterances as populated by the utterances of others, similarly proposes a view of discourse whereby as he puts it: 'within the boundaries of his own utterance the speaker (or writer) raises questions, answers them himself, raises objections to his own ideas , responds to his own objections and so on' (1986: 72). Indeed, Habermas (1974: 28) suggests that thinking itself is dialogic: 'the thinking subject ...must play at least two roles of the dialogue'.

1. 3 From Intention to Effect

Studies in stylistics offer the possibility of a shift away from emphasis on communicative intention (the main concern of the Speech Act theorists) to a consideration of effect. Widdowson's work (eg. 1992) on the aesthetic effects of different linguistic choices in literary texts is concerned primarily with what texts mean to readers and is less concerned with authorial intention or the autonomous meaning of texts. Although, as discussed below, Widdowson sees the role of the reader in very different ways to critically oriented discourse analysts, the concern with effect rather than intention paves the way for a consideration of ideological - rather than aesthetic - effects in non-literary genres such as news texts. These were the major

focus of interest for the early critical linguists such as Fowler, Kress, Hodge, and Trew (1979) well-exemplified in a key paper by Trew (Trew 1979).

This group of linguists drew very closely on Halliday's work (e.g. 1970, 1978) in systemic/functional grammar, which saw texts as proceeding as systems of interlocking options linked ultimately to a wider social structure. However Fowler et al (1979) in their original and subsequent work have wished to extend the scope of Hallidayan grammar by arguing a more specific case for the ideological significance of linguistic choices over and above their role in contributing to sociocultural structures.

The work of the critical linguists, dealing largely with news texts had - and many would argue continues to have - some major problems as Bell (1991) for instance, points out. One is the assumption that there is a clear relation between a specific linguistic choice and a given ideology; another is the assumption of deliberate ideological intervention on the part of news producers. This is hard to justify once the complex circumstances of news production (and, one might add, the production of other genres) are better understood. Subsequent work in the field of CDA has attempted to address these and other difficulties, by for instance locating specific textual analysis within some kind of social/critical theory. Thus the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (e.g. 1972, 1980) has contributed a view of discourse or discourses which derive from the major institutional bases of society; power is mediated through these institutions rather than being consciously manipulated by the authors of specific texts. Nonetheless, paradoxes and contradictions remain in the field of CDA, as is discussed more fully below.

Having looked historically, albeit briefly, at some of the developments in discourse analysis relevant to this study, we might sum up what seem currently to be the major points of departure between critically oriented models and others.

1.4 The Place of Discourse In Social Structure

Conventional DA is concerned with logical and rational aspects of discourse, strongly influenced by work of Speech philosophers, especially Grice. CDA does not deny the value of this work - though by implication some critiques, for example of Grice's Cooperative Principle, foreshadow the concerns of critical analysts. Levinson,

for example, (1979) points out that much interaction is not cooperative at all. Certain kinds of speech events, which he prefers to call activity types, as they may only marginally involve language in the usually understood sense, do not simply infringe Grice's maxims: they are inherently uncooperative, such as cross-examinations in courtroom trials and classroom interaction, (although one aim of this thesis is to challenge the view of classroom interaction as inherently uncooperative).

In a sense, it could be argued that Levinson misses the point of Grice's work in that Grice presents the maxims as a model for an ideal world against which we make sense of real-life speech events where the operation of the maxims may, as in courtroom interaction, be systematically overturned. However, we are still at liberty to enquire what it is about such events which makes the infringement of normal - that is, cooperatively based - conversational rules appear unmarked. Indeed there may be different assumptions, on the part of participants in the event, about just what the rules of a particular game may be, and who has power to change them.

One issue which Levinson (op cit) fails to pursue is the degree to which a lack of cooperativeness is linked to an inequality of power; nor does he address what the bases for power differentials might be. In contrast, critical discourse analysts are concerned to explore the nature of unequal encounters both in spoken interaction but also, of interest in this thesis, in interactions between readers and writers in written discourse. In looking at factors of power and solidarity there is an interest in situating discourse more widely in sociopolitical structures. There are institutional and wider societal constraints beyond the context of situation in the more immediate sense which has been the concern of conventional DA.

1.5 Ideology and Culture

A second major strand, central to early versions of CDA as to more recent ones, is the role of ideology - what do mean by it and how do we distinguish between 'ideological' and other terms such as 'social' and 'cultural'? In short, we need some working definitions as to what is meant by ideology, along with related concepts. In the empirical classroom study at the centre of this thesis questions of both culture and

ideology were addressed and it is important therefore to have some understanding of where the boundaries lie: What is cultural and what is ideological?

1.5.1 Culture:

Culture is 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' (Williams 1976:76). It defies simple definition. Nonetheless some account of its various uses is required both to better clarify and set limits on the meaning of ideology and to provide some principled underpinning to CLA. Culture, in its broader sociological and anthropological sense if not in its narrower reference to 'high culture' operates as a concept which is key to understanding the significance of events, institutions and phenomena presented in texts (c.f. Wallace 1988: 33) . Moreover the term 'culture', unlike 'ideology' is one which has an everyday circulation and is commonly evoked in discussion of identity: for example the Orange Day Parades in Northern Ireland are legitimised by the Orange Community as a manifestation of their culture. Thus culture is not simply what we do, how we behave, how we pursue pleasure, for example through cooking, dance or marching, but, it is supposed, fundamentally part of what we are. It is largely for this reason that culture is often seen as coterminous with nationality, though I shall argue in this thesis that cultural identity involves overlapping and shifting identities in complex ways. Moreover, culture is usefully seen not just in terms of identity but as a resource. In a culturally diverse classroom, such as that presented in this study, with students of different nationalities and consequently a wide range of experiential knowledge, richer than usual resources were available to be shared and exchanged by the whole group. These are discussed in chapters six and seven of this thesis.

1.5.2 Ideology:

As Eagleton points out (1991: 43) two broad views continue to prevail, one being the anthropological view of ideology as 'belief systems characteristic of certain social groups or classes' - very close to some definitions of culture- ; the other the pejorative 'false consciousness' view. The second seems to predominate in popular discourse at least: there is a tendency to see ideology as negative - 'Ideology like

halitosis is what the other person has' as Eagleton (op cit: 2) puts it or 'they have ideology we have culture'. Eagleton maps out the territory by offering a list of popular definitions, some of which I include here.

1. a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class
2. systematically distorted communication
3. ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power
4. false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power

from Eagleton 1991:1-2

Most would agree that the first is too broad, all-encompassing a definition and may be closer to what we would understand by culture. The second, which is drawn from Habermas, (1982) introduces the principle of distortion in language use and suggests that there must be some norm of undistorted communication - if only at an idealised level - which we can set against distorted communication. The notion of what we might mean by distorted communication is clearly a complex one, and more fully argued in chapter three. Suffice it to say at this juncture that for Habermas it relates to situations where 'at least one of the participants is deceiving himself or herself (and, one would need to add presumably, his or her interlocutors) as regards the fact that he or she is actually behaving strategically and..has only apparently adopted an attitude orientated to reaching understanding' (Habermas 1982:264). Eagleton appears to accept the key Habermasian principle of an underlying notion of communication which is not distorted by the unwitting or conscious intention to deceive, noting (1991: 14) : 'in order to be able to decipher an ideological system of discourse, we must already be in possession of the normative, undistorted use of terms'.

The third definition introduces the dimension of power which is key in most discussions of ideology. It is also a key concept in CLA and critical pedagogy particularly when we consider cognate terms such as 'empowerment', 'empowering' or a term similarly used - 'emancipatory'. As Lankshear (1997) and Andersen (1988) note however, these terms tend to be used in very general ways with a neglect of transitivity. That is, it is vacuous to talk simply of being empowered, without saying what one is empowered to do or become; similarly with notions of freedom or

emancipation we need to consider freedom **from** what or freedom **to do** what. Moreover, we might ask whether we 'have power' as a particular recognisable commodity so much as 'experience its effects', if we accept the Foucauldian view that power circulates in complex ways. The assumption tends to be in empowerment educational discourse - though it is not always made explicit - that students are empowered by achieving control or power over the circumstances of their lives. This clearly positive sense of power as the exercise of personal autonomy needs to be set against the paradoxically negative use of the term in definitions linked to the notion of ideology where power tends to be seen as operating in malign ways and involves domination over others.

There are understandable reasons for this negative connotation of 'power'. Although the exercise of power over others is not to be equated necessarily with power abuse (we can argue the case for legitimate power, such as parents' power over their children) one can see how the idea of power and false ideas becomes linked, as in statement 4 above. For if a key aspect to ideology is the exercise of power of one group over another, the almost inevitable corollary will be to privilege some ways of thinking, and the language used to express those, over others and to have suppression of points of view which are inimicable to the interests of the dominant group. When ideas and belief systems and even everyday ways of doing things are not open to continued contestation, over time a skewedness will almost inevitably result. Certainly for Fairclough, (1992:87) language is ideological to the extent that it serves to establish or sustain relations of domination.

Fairclough, as others have done, draws on the work of the Italian philosopher Gramsci (1971) to offer a view of domination which is not necessarily related to force - or even perceived as tyrannical - indeed it is important that it should not be. Continued domination is exerted by those in power through the principle of what Gramsci calls 'hegemony', by which a ruling group, whether of the left or right must govern by a balance of force and persuasion. As Easthope and McGowan (1992:43) put it: 'a group, bloc or class must rule by winning consent in conjunction with the threat of force, the effectiveness of hegemony depending on how rarely, force, always present, actually has to be used'. Behind this principle is the view that people are in

general not aware of the operation of power, especially as embedded in language. Fairclough argues that language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations which people are unaware of. He talks (1992:12) of 'the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief' which are not 'normally apparent to discourse participants'. Fairclough's claim brings in the issue of consciousness: we are generally, the argument appears to go, not aware of the ideological sources of the language we use or encounter, at least in day-to day contact with spontaneous or informal spoken or written texts.

1.6 Consciousness

To talk of lack of awareness or consciousness about the use or effects of language does not mean that we are not aware of what we are doing or saying. It is not that we are unaware of the form, meaning or effect of the language we use, but rather that there are routinised ways of talking or writing about social groups, everyday phenomena, ways of life and values, linked to the institutional bases of our society which we take for granted. It is these routinised ways of talking which Foucault (for example 1972) refers to as 'discourses' evidenced, for instance, in the way in which gender, ethnic and national identity is continually reconstructed. If, for example, in the context of travel-brochure discourse produced by the travel industry in Britain, words like 'Africa' 'the East' or 'Scandinavia' are used, particular ways of talking about phenomena will come to mind. There are ready collocations whereby words like 'mysterious' 'exotic', 'bustling', 'picturesque' 'elegant' and 'sophisticated' will be readily associated with a particular ethnic or national group. Moreover, this kind of discourse when originating from privileged groups of people tends to assume an all-knowing, unproblematised stance in relation to what is talked about. Edward Said, for instance, (1978) talks of the distancing exoticizing effect of ways in which the East is continually constructed by Western writers.

Constant day to day resistance to the reality constructed for the majority or dominant groups of text 'consumers' by these routinised kinds of language would be unbearably tedious. Moreover texts tend not to be challenged because of the principle of cooperativeness, already noted, evidenced by the willingness of the mainstream

participants to take part in the joint construction of certain kinds of everyday discourse. However I do not wish to argue that we are simply not conscious of these constructive processes in any absolute sense. Williams (1977 in Eagleton 1991: 47) argues: 'no mode of production, and therefore no dominant social order and therefore no dominant culture ever in reality includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy and human intention. Every social formation is a complex amalgam of 'dominant', 'residual' and 'emergent' forms of consciousness and no hegemony can thus ever be absolute'.

Moreover, this complex, dynamic and multilayered public social consciousness is reflected at a personal individual level where, as Van Lier (1994) notes, we can talk of different kinds and levels of consciousness. Van Lier's particular concern is with the educational role of consciousness to mean an 'understanding of oneself and the world'. The pedagogic value of developing this sense of personal consciousness is central to the view of CLA presented in this thesis; in particular the view that this sense of self is achieved by way of the social, summed up by Habermas (1992:187) thus: 'the ego finds its way to itself only along a detour by way of others.' Such heightened self-awareness as one outcome of education needs to be set against the fact that, on a day to day basis, in non-educational settings, processes of meaning construction may take place at a fairly unreflective level especially where there is an identification between writer or speaker and reader or listener with similar values and attitudes. This brings us to the issue of the respective identities of writers and readers, or - a term preferred by some - subjectivities.

1.7 Subjectivity

The notion of subjectivity sees the subject as socially constructed, shaped by language , fragmented and decentred. This is a view which is in contrast to the humanist notion, favoured by Widdowson for instance, who takes a view of the subject as personal, pre-formed and autonomous, whether one is talking of authors or readers/listeners. 'The concept of the author as the free creative source of the meaning of a book belongs to .. liberal humanist discourse' (McDonell 1986:3). Widdowson (1992:183/184) laments the manner in which, as he puts it, the subject has been

socialised in critically oriented approaches; he makes a plea for the role of individual asocial interpretations in the case of literary texts in particular. For critical analysts on the other hand, - regardless of the text genre - the intention is to challenge the view of interpretation as 'just my personal opinion' (cf. example Kress 1989) by problematizing the relationship between language and the individual. Individuals are shaped by language: 'identity becomes an effect rather than simply an origin of linguistic practice... the theory of the subject proposes a notion of identity as precariously constituted in the discourses of the social ' (Easthope and McGowan 1992: 67). Althusser (Althusser 1970 in Easthope and McGowan 1992:57) makes a strong claim for the construction of the subject through ideology - through being 'hailed' or interpellated the subjects work by themselves. Clearly he is playing on the double meaning of subject. Althusser's basic point is, as he puts it himself: 'the individual is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he shall submit freely to the commandments of the Subject (i.e. in order that he shall freely accept his subjection)' (Easthope and McGowan op cit: 57) Eagleton puts it thus: 'for Althusser ideology is not a matter of ideas at all but is a structure which imposes itself upon us without having to pass through consciousness at all (1991: 148).

Where this strong interpretation of the role of subjectivity leaves subjects in the sense of agents or actors invited to critique texts in the context of critical discourse analysis is clearly problematic. Aware of this contradiction, Fairclough expresses the view (1992: 90/91) that Althusser overstates the ideological construction of subjects, and 'understates the capacity of subjects to act individually or collectively as agents'.

My own view is that it is possible to dispense with the strongly individualist view which emphasises a desocialised self without removing the important principle of agency and responsibility, nor - most importantly - the socially located sense of self argued for above. Thus ultimately the creators of texts must be expected to take some moral and personal responsibility for the texts they produce. And if we take the reader's rather than the writer's perspective, the process of critical analysis depends in fact on individuals developing an enhanced sense of self, but of a self located within social contexts at a number of levels. In other words, the aim of CDA is to develop an

awareness of subjectivity which will include an awareness of the ways in which we are typically subjected (i.e. dominated) by certain kinds of language conventions and practices, but also of the ways we can become subjects - in the sense of agents - in order to challenge and reconstruct , if we wish, the subject positions allotted to us through everyday discourse.

1.8 Discourse

We need now to revisit the notion of discourse itself and the differing ways in which it is understood. Certainly there are commonalities in current thinking about discourse: one, as already noted, is its dialogic nature; another one is an agreement to distinguish between discourse and text. Admittedly, definitions of both text and discourse are differently expressed by for example Widdowson (1983) and Kress (1989) Nonetheless, there has been a general development from the solely text-based kind of analysis of those like Trew (1979) , which appears to assume a fairly straightforward apprehension of meaning derivable from the specific linguistic features in texts.

However, there are fundamental differences between the Widdowsonian accounts of discourse analysis and the critically oriented versions. One relates to a difference of view about the relationship between form and meaning. More traditional accounts of language made a difference between denotation and connotation and between semantic and pragmatic meaning. Certainly the social significance of semantic choice has been addressed by those working in semantics. Leech (1974) for instance, making a difference between what he calls 'conceptual' and 'affective' meaning, notes the relatively greater affective weight which some words/concepts carry on most occasions of their use, so that for example a word like 'fascist' becomes almost emptied of denotative meaning, compared to, for instance, a word like 'typewriter'. Nonetheless, Leech takes conceptual or denotative meaning as central or core in linguistic communication. More recently, Cook, (1989:29) wishes to distinguish semantic meaning which he characterises as 'fixed context-free' language from pragmatic meaning to describe the 'meaning which the words take on in a particular context between particular people'.

One difficulty with such definitions, as Habermas (1979: 27) notes, is the fuzziness between semantics and pragmatics. 'Semantic theory cannot be completely carried through...in disregard of pragmatic aspects'. As Wittgenstein puts in (in Habermas op cit) 'the meaning of linguistic expressions can be identified only with reference to situations of possible employment' Bakhtin's position seems similar when he says: (1981: 293-4) 'Prior to its moment of appropriation the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language'. He thus seems to deny the usefulness of any distinction between core neutral, context-free meaning and contextually influenced social forms of meaning. Kress (e.g. 1993a) appears also to wish to challenge the distinction between semantics and pragmatics preferring to talk in terms of 'semiotics', as a unified social theory of language, where semantic choices are inevitably ideologically implicated.

On the other hand, maintaining a difference between the notion of some kind of core propositional meaning as against pragmatic, attitudinal meaning can, as Batstone (1995) notes serve the purposes of critical discourse analysis in quite helpful ways. It helps to solve the problem, revisited later in this chapter, of claiming that ideological meaning resides universally and comprehensively in grammatical form as such rather than, more selectively and covertly, in those parts of texts where attitudinal meaning is in play. Batstone's use of the term 'attitudinal' gives, I would argue, undue emphasis to individual, conscious intentionality. Nonetheless his proposal that we maintain a distinction between the notional/semantic and the attitudinal/pragmatic allows writers and speakers to deny any interpretation of attitude by reference to the more explicit level of notional meaning. It is this potential deniability which 'fuels the expression and maintenance of power' (Batstone 1995: 210). In Habermas's terms, it allows language users to be strategic.

A second, related, difference between what we might call mainstream discourse analysis in applied linguistics and broadly Foucauldian approaches relates to the relationship between discourse and text: For Widdowson discourse is derived from text. It is the individual who, in schema theoretic fashion, does the constructive work, drawing admittedly on socially shared knowledge with the author. Foucault views the relationship the other way round - discourses themselves do the

constructive work; discourse is constitutive of society and therefore texts are constructed from discourse, or rather from a plurality of discourses. Kress (1989), drawing closely on Foucault's work, describes discourses as sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of social institutions, such as the law, medicine or education. We do not find a single monolithic discourse within texts; there are typically a number of discourses in contention with each other.

In other words, the language in circulation at any one historical period used to characterise social phenomena and relations constructs our social world and relations of power within it, and this is, in turn represented in texts. What is sayable and therefore, the argument goes, thinkable, in one era may cease to be so in another. Pennycook (1994a) exemplifies with reference to the use of the English language itself. Talking of discourses which, he claims, are powerfully associated with the use of English around the world he says: 'what (can) be said in English (is) in part limited and produced by the deployment of these global discourses' (Pennycook 1994a:115). Pennycook is careful one notes to add 'in part' clearly not wanting to suggest a wholly deterministic, strongly Whorfian view of the way in which language constrains our world view. He is nonetheless giving discourses, in the Foucauldian sense of ways of talking about social reality, in particular social institutions, a major role in shaping the everyday texts we use and in setting limits on what we can say through the medium of English.

It must be said there are differences within what we might call the critically oriented group. While Pennycook, for instance, espouses a Foucauldian view, both Fairclough and Eagleton have questioned the very strong relativist position which Foucault takes up. As Eagleton (1991: 47) puts it: Foucault does not indicate what is doing the resisting- if all subjectivity is merely the effect of power in the first place. Eagleton notes that Foucault talks of resistances to power but 'what exactly is doing the resisting is an enigma his work does not manage to dispel'.

Fairclough (1992a) also observes this dilemma for the critical analyst. The impression given by the totality of Foucault's work he notes, is of people being helplessly subjected to immovable systems of power. As Andersen (1988: 24) puts it, there is a sense of despair at the value of 'virtually any social project'. A second

weakness of Foucault's work is its excessive abstractness. There is an absence of focus on practice. In particular there is no consideration of the role of concrete texts, that is texts as the physical manifestation of written language. While it is necessary to see the place of texts in the wider setting I have tried to capture in the preceding discussion, finally the work of analysis will be done with texts. It is these instances of use which will provide the data to go to work with, both for the critical analyst who wishes to have credibility and, of interest here, for the teacher who is concerned to develop certain kinds of insights with her students. It is texts which, as Kress (1989) puts it, give material realisation to discourses.

1.9 The Role of the Text

I am using the term 'text' to mean any unit of meaning or 'instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation' (Halliday and Hasan 1985; 10) concretely realised as speech or writing - or indeed as any other medium that we like to think of. Many educators interested in attempting to develop critical perspectives to textual analysis have looked to Halliday's systemic/functional grammar. There are understandable reasons for this choice of model. Firstly a Hallidayan grammar drawing as it does on Firthian approaches, takes a wide view of context to move beyond context in the sense of the immediate environment in order to take account of the broader cultural background to which attention was first drawn by anthropologists such as Malinowski (1922).

In principle there are links between Hallidayan grammar and Foucault's work, providing some coherence of approach to both an understanding of the wider circumstances of analysis and the scrutiny of particular texts. Foucault counsels, for instance, (1972: 26) that we accept - provisionally - the groupings that history suggests only to 'subject them at once to interrogation' thus signalling the view, central to his work, that categories are socially and historically created, and that 'that which is has not always been' (Hoy and McCarthy 1994: 148). This theme is echoed in Halliday 1990a. Just as Foucault asks the question (1972: 27): 'how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another' in the light of a methodology which proposes a continual subjection of current groupings and categorizations to scrutiny,

so does Hallidayan grammar work on the principle of the social significance of options. At a micro linguistic level this involves asking why one noun phrase is selected rather than another, why a verbal rather than a nominal construction is opted for and so on. However the differences between Foucault and Halliday are more striking than any similarities. For instance, Halliday argues (for example Halliday 1990a) for the role of human agency in engineering social and attitudinal change through manipulation of the language. This view - as optimistic about the possibility for change towards an improved world -aligns Halliday with post-enlightenment philosophers such as Habermas rather than with Foucault.

Methodologically, systemic/functional grammar appears to offer some advantages in procedure over other models, moving as it does from general to ever more specific features. It gives priority to breadth over depth of analysis by invoking in the first instance a simple conceptual framework of three headings, namely: Field, Tenor and Mode which (c.f. Halliday 1994) serve to interpret the social context of a text. Systemic/functional grammar thus offers the possibility of looking at whole texts in their social context: the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language, linked respectively to field tenor and mode and exemplified by features of grammar such as transitivity, mood, modality and cohesion - are linked to features of the social situation in which the text arises, namely, its content, the relationship between producer and receiver and the overall function or rhetorical mode of the text, whether descriptive, narrative or expository.

At the same time, Halliday (1990a: 24/25) allows for depth as well as a breadth of analysis. He talks, suggestively rather than comprehensively, of four levels of language use, the first most salient kind relating to the use of obvious logical anomalies such as 'eventually we will run out of food. We must learn to live with this'; the second to lexical effects as observed, for example, in ritualised collocations such as 'shedding jobs'; the third relates to what Halliday calls the 'outer layer' of grammar as evidenced in function words such as pronouns, while the fourth is at the most concealed level of what Halliday calls 'the cryptogrammar', and relates to choices at clause level, which typically we are less aware of. In other words, there is a gradient of linguistic options, along a cline from most to least accessible to consciousness.

Halliday takes the view that syntactic as well as lexical choices are socially motivated, in that they encode socially significant ways of looking at the world. 'Grammar creates the potential within which we act and enact our cultural being' (1990a: 11). That is, the linguistic options exercised in texts will reflect taken for granted views of the world - assumed to be shared with the intended readership. As Stubbs (1994: 203) puts it 'it is always possible to talk about the same thing in different ways and the systematic use of different syntactic patterns encodes different points of view'

Stubbs and others seem to assume that all texts lend themselves to critical analysis. Is this the case, or do some texts or features of texts resist or take unkindly to such analysis? As Widdowson notes, (personal communication), we do not question the ideological assumptions of the Fire Drill text. Some kinds of texts would seem to invite critical reading, most obviously discursive texts. Invitation is signalled through the explicit nature of such texts, explicit because interaction may be specifically invited by rhetorical questions, certain uses of modality and cohesive features which give a recognisable rhetorical structure to the text. The avowed purpose of others, such as the Fire Drill text, is instrumental. These are texts which are supremely unopinionated, where interpersonal features such as modality are less apparent and ideological meaning is less salient.

Nonetheless, Kress (1993b: 174) claims that all texts equally code the ideological positions of their producers. 'The everyday, innocent and innocuous, the mundane text is as ideologically saturated as a text which wears its ideological constitution overtly'. This at first glance seems an absurdly strong claim. However, it is possible to argue that mundane texts have greater ideological significance simply because of their typically disguised ideological constitution. For instance the absence of modality which is likely to characterise such texts might be more strongly assertive of power than in texts where authorial position is openly acknowledged. Also, if we place the text in its context of production or reception, the notion of innocent texts becomes even more dubious. For example, the need for texts in the first place or the presence of some kinds of texts in certain contexts rather than others may indicate an assertion of power on the part of the producers of texts and their subsequent gate-

keepers. The issue of 'who benefits' is clearly related to the differing degree of prominence given to public texts such as entitlement to benefits, cigarette advertisements and various kinds of health promotion campaigns.

Even when we look referentially at the content of the text itself what is omitted is, arguably, ideologically significant, even in apparently uncontroversial texts. 'The absence of reference to shared information has led to the observation that it is what is omitted in discourse, the gaps within it, which constitute the shared ideology of the participants' (Cook 1992: 176). As no text can be fully informative there must be omissions which are potentially prejudicial to particular groups or individuals.

Nonetheless, there is a case for saying that there is simply more at stake ideologically speaking with some texts than others. There is what Eco (1992: 78) calls 'the transparent intention of the text.' Texts have a relatively stable socially recognisable function and related kinds of content which it is perverse to disregard. Even if we later wish to use the text in different ways, to 'stand the text on its head', we need first to acknowledge what the text is trying to do, that is, its generic identity.

1.10 Genre

Talk of the intention or function of a text - the job it is meant to do - brings us to the issue of genre. Traditionally genre was used exclusively to talk about literary texts. Recently however, the concept of genre has been extended to cover the whole range of culturally recognisable language activities which serve particular socially agreed purposes, for instance, to amuse, to instruct, to inform or to merely pass the time. Genres are thus social categories rather than rhetorical types of texts such as exposition, narrative or argument (c.f. Urquhart 1996: 29). What's more, there are also powerful expectations about the kinds of discourses to be found in particular genres (c.f. Wallace 1992a:31). Culturally competent readers will both identify a genre from its characteristic discourses and also recognise the different roles performed by texts in particular social situations.

While the emergence of hybrid or mixed genres and the fudging of generic boundaries has been noted (for example, by Fairlough 1992a: 192) the fact that we can usually very readily name texts generically, as for example, review, letter,

pamphlet or advertisement testifies to some kind of consistency. In general, then, we are able to assign a genre label to a text largely through our awareness of the kind of job it is doing, aided by our experience of ways in which overall communicative function is conventionally conveyed through the use of certain linguistic features in different kinds of texts. And because different genres do different kinds of jobs they are not equally implicated in the ideological positioning of readers.

In other words, ultimately there is a case for saying that texts are not equally invested with power relations. As Eagleton (1991:201) says 'It is intellectually disingenuous to imagine that all language is rhetorical (and therefore, he implies, ideologically invested) to exactly the same degree'. One imagines there is no covert persuasive function of the Fire Drill text ; the producers of the text have, presumably, no ideological axes to grind, no likely strategic motivation, in Habermas's terms. They have a straightforward job to do.

Moreover, even if we compare texts from the same or comparable genres, texts do not, either through their manner of representation or reader address, reveal or mask their ideological provenance to the same degree. While there are obligatory core defining features associated with genres there are also optional components - indeed it is the alternative possibilities revealed in these which as Young (1992:76) notes tell us a great deal about the core components. It follows that texts from the same genre species but exercising different linguistic options may invite an openness of response in differing degrees. To state this, however, suggests that some aspects of texts - as well as some kinds of texts are implicated in the reproduction of power relations to a greater degree than others and therefore carry greater ideological weight.

1.11 The Identification of Ideologically Significant Textual Features

Stubbs (1994:218) notes that while computers now offer comprehensiveness of analysis, linguists are still left with the job of selecting which features to look for. And if the identification of ideologically significant features is hard for the critically oriented linguist, it is even more difficult for teachers to select particular features of texts on which to focus or guide students' attention towards in critical language study in the classroom.

Stubbs also observes how much of critical analysis has been based on the analysis of short texts or fragments. Stubbs' methodology is to use corpus linguistics to establish clear quantitative differences in substantial, whole texts. But one is still left with further problems over and above the major one noted by Stubbs, namely, the randomness of criteria for selection of features to focus on in the first place. Among these unresolved difficulties are the following, some of which are raised in a subsequent paper by Stubbs (1997).

- Texts used for comparative purposes may differ with respect to only the one or two features selected ; a more comprehensive analysis would be impossibly time-consuming. We are left wondering how significant or salient those features are in the context of other, unexamined, ones.
- There remains the problem of interpretation, more particularly, as Van Dijk (1994), puts it, of linking the micro to the macro level of analysis, that is the particular linguistic features of the text to the global structures of racism or sexism in society. For instance, is the deleted agent say in technical or academic texts - or, conversely, its untypical and therefore arguably marked presence - as significant as claimed? Stubbs (1994) contrasts two School Geography textbooks. One, which he calls 'environmentalist' has, his analysis shows, many more transitive forms, with correspondingly fewer passives and intransitive choices. This is interpreted as indicating an explicit concern with attributing responsibility for environmental damage. However, in principle, there will be other, possibly equally persuasive, interpretations of the presence of these features.
- The preceding point raises the issue of diverse interpretations. One difficulty with much of the work on CDA is that, ironically in view of its assumed egalitarian aims, it is exegesis in the hands of a few experts. As Stubbs (1997:103) notes: 'if it is not possible to read the ideology off the texts (a point generally conceded by the major proponents of CDA) then the analysts themselves are reading meanings into texts on the basis of their own unexplicated knowledge.' There is little mention by the CDA group as to how interpretations might be communally negotiated. One suggestion raised by

Stubbs (1997) is to draw on Fish's notion of interpretative community which originally applied to schools of literary critics (Fish 1980). Indeed in Wallace 1992b, I noted how Carter and Walker (1989:3) had used Fish's term in a broader sense to mean a community within which readers grow up and are educated. I proposed extending the term still further to see the classroom itself as one kind of interpretative community with its own social constraints and literacy experiences. Moreover, 'the longer the class is together the more of a community it becomes and the more it begins to share and exchange interpretative resources' (Wallace 1992b:64)

There are more thorough going objections to critical orientations to text analysis, which relate not to the procedure itself but to the need for it. These are objections in principle to the whole enterprise of critical discourse analysis, rather than how one might go about it or what its particular applications might be in different contexts. I conclude with an account of some of these.

1.12 Conclusion

1. *The patronising view*

This view has it that CDA takes a patronising stance in its concern for disadvantaged or marginalised groups well able to take care of themselves. However, this argument only stands if you either deny the existence of disadvantage and discrimination or wish to argue that it is not the role of education to alert oneself and others to social injustice. Scholes argues strongly against this view: 'In an age of manipulation, when our students are in dire need of critical strength to resist the continuing assaults of all the media, the worst thing we can do is foster in them an attitude of reverence before texts' (Scholes 1985: 16).

Traditionally the field of English language teaching has maintained - or attempted to - a conspicuously neutral position with regard to the social and ideological foundations of its field and, more particularly, the discourses embedded in the professional, academic and pedagogic texts which circulate within and beyond the classroom. And yet, arguably, one frequently marginalised if not stigmatised and

certainly stereotyped social category in a whole range of texts is the 'foreigner'. This kind of institutionalised xenophobia is of interest to many of those learning English as foreign language, as well as being of wider interest to anyone who is learning or teaching a foreign language.

2. *The playfully ironic or 'the end of ideology' view:*

A further criticism is represented by the statement 'We know it anyway' - the reason we do not act in the pursuit of justice, to change governments etc. is not because we have been manipulated or deceived into certain beliefs; we simply don't care, or other material survival considerations outweigh principles and beliefs. Eagleton (op cit) concedes that Marxist theorists may indeed have overstated the role of ideas in dominating our day to day behaviour over and above very simple factors relating to laziness, unapologetic self-interest or the material demands of everyday life. However, Eagleton goes on to challenge the view that in the 'cynical milieu of postmodernism we are all much too fly, astute and streetwise to be conned ..by our own official rhetoric' (Eagleton 1991: 39), adding that 'self-ironizing' comes itself to serve ideological ends' and plays into the hands of dominant groups who use it to further their own purposes. One sees this is the recent recycling of racist and sexist discourse in popular media, e.g. the new laddishness, which we are now intended presumably to read as playfully ironic or self-deprecating.

3. *The view that:* If there is no real world or ultimate truth beyond discourse, then what is the point of producing discourses of critique which are as suspect as those targeted for criticism?

This is the most substantial objection and can be elaborated on as follows: if all language is ideologically invested then all our interpretations are suspect. As noted above in the discussion on Foucault, if we take a relativist position we may find ourselves in the position of simply asserting our own position over that of others. For this reason the argument developed in the course of this thesis is based on the premise that judgements have a rational, even universalist basis. There are a priori realities, including beliefs and values which are universally shared and are part of the human

condition. There is no point in engaging in the enterprise of critical analysis if at the end of the day the texts jointly created in the classroom are as ideologically suspect, no nearer the truth than those critiqued.

In short, we need a balance between a Foucauldian position of willingness to keep definitive judgements on hold and the search for truth. The view taken in this thesis is that there are commonalities related to views on natural justice and respect for persons, on what it means to be human. There are also different sociocultural inflections on these universal principles. It is the tension between these which may become a fruitful focus of scrutiny particularly in culturally diverse classrooms. In other words, rational consensus does emerge in classrooms representing considerable cultural and ideological diversity, but in coexistence with differences which are based on both personal and sociocultural factors. The nature of this interaction will be addressed more fully in chapter 3. Suffice it to say, for the moment that just as aesthetic judgements are not, I would argue entirely 'my personal opinion', so are critical judgements neither my personal opinion nor what my social group(s) currently think. In whatever complex ways the ego is constructed, the reflective self must finally come into its own, for (using subjectivity in a slightly different way to Althusser) as Eagleton notes: 'Ideology after all requires a certain depth of subjectivity on which to go to work.' (Eagleton 1991:38) Ultimately, we are concerned with the making of judgements, the exercise of ethical responsibility, beyond localised contextualised relativistic views of 'it depends how you look at it' (c.f. Bloom 1987 and Hoggart 1995)

In arguing against a relativistic view, it follows that not all interpretations will be equally legitimate. In stating this we have necessarily moved towards a consideration of the role of the reader. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLE OF THE READER IN CRITICAL LANGUAGE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

Much of the work on critical discourse analysis has neglected consideration of reading - and indeed of writing - processes. As Fairclough (1992a: 28) says: 'In critical linguistics there tends to be too much emphasis upon the text as product and too little emphasis upon the processes of producing and interpreting texts'.

In chapter one I looked in rather general ways at the roles of readers and writers in the construction of discourse. Here I shall examine more closely the relationship between readers, authors and texts, moving on to describe the roles which readers take on in the course of their ongoing interaction with the text. This will be followed by an account of some major contemporary perspectives on reading pedagogy as related to L2 readers. We might then be in a better position to present some of the key characteristics of what I am calling critical reading. Finally I shall argue for the need to relate specific teaching of reading processes to a model of literacy for the late twentieth century; one which takes account, moreover, of the role of English - in particular English language literacy - as an international medium of communication.

2.2 Reading: The Roles of Reader, Text and Writer

We can talk about roles in two rather different ways: firstly the role relationship between reader, author and text. How do these parameters of any reading event interact with each other?; secondly and more dynamically what kind of role does the reader adopt in the course of reading itself? I shall consider both questions here.

2.2.1 The Role of the Reader

Structuralist views which emphasised the autonomy of the text, left the role assigned to the reader a relatively straightforward one - namely the gaining of meaning which, it was assumed, was intact and whole within texts. Some of the early work in critical linguistics, cf. for example, Trew 1979 took this position, as noted in

chapter one. The reader was active in the pursuit of meaning, as opposed to earlier accounts of the reading process which talked of reading, along with listening as 'passive' skills. It was assumed that meaning was there within the text for the taking. The shift in emphasis from a passive, acquiescent reader to an active one led to the use of rather aggressive metaphors. Thus the reader was described as 'extracting' meaning from texts. While even relatively recent accounts of the reading process, e.g., Nuttall, (1982) continue to draw on this metaphor, the ground has shifted in L2 as in L1 reading theory to talk of reading as interactive rather than active. What the reader brings to the text is as important as what she or he gains from it.

In short, most contemporary accounts of the role of the reader see him or her as interacting with the text or writer. However the nature of this interaction is differently characterised. Widdowson for instance (1984) talks of the reader choosing to take up either an assertive or submissive position depending on purpose. Characteristically, Widdowson gives weight to individual choice in this matter, arguing that the reader is 'free to take up whatever position suits his purpose on the dominance/dependence scale' (Widdowson 1984: 91). Others argue for less individual choice (for example Kress 1989); some people in some situations are less at liberty to exercise individual preference. This may be because of contextual factors which operate at different levels of specificity. For instance, the immediate situation in which the event takes place may be uncongenial to the exercise of assertion. Within the particular classroom setting features of the field tenor or mode - that is, for example, the manner in which a text is presented or framed and the content of the text and the surrounding discussion - may not invite ready participation and may effectively preclude critique. Or institutional factors beyond the immediate setting may work against an equal encounter between text and reader. For instance, children in school are not, in spite of protestations to the contrary, readily invited to challenge orthodoxy; we are, in many educational settings, faced with the phenomenon of the sacred text. This is to be expected perhaps in societies where written texts are scarce and valued commodities. However western academic settings also have their sacred texts in the form of writing which is sanctified by its appearance in prestigious journals or by the knowledge that it comes from the hand of influential and famous

people. Then the wider societal context may discourage challenge to authority of all kinds. The extent to which wider societal expectations about the role of literacy, and the related institutionally based ones, impact on the classroom setting will be discussed in the next chapter.

Moreover, characteristics of the text itself as well as the context of situation may marginalise readers in their access to texts - may skew the interaction. The degree to which information, values and attitudes are assumed to be shared is signalled by the language of the text, in particular the degree of elaboration and clarification provided. For this reason, as noted in chapter one, unexpanded texts with little modality may exercise greater power simply because assumptions are implicit. There is a higher degree of taken for grantedness. If you are not part of the writer's imagined readership the effect is of eavesdropping on a dialogue between the writer and his or her readership. Arguing from a Foucauldian perspective, we might say that the discourses within a text construct what are called preferred readings - that is certain interpretations of the events or phenomena described are privileged over others. By extension one can talk of 'preferred' 'implied' or - the term I shall use here - 'model readers' to characterise the way in which a reader is written into a text. The notion that it is useful to distinguish a text's actual or real reader from an ideal one constructed by the text has a long history in literary history (c.f. e.g. Culler 1983); a much shorter one as applied to non-literary texts, c.f., for example, Olson (1994:136) who talks of 'putative readers.'

Writers may indicate in a number of ways, in particular by the interpersonal choices selected, which kind of reader in terms of social group membership is envisaged. And, as Mills (1992) notes, certain social groups faced with certain types of texts may habitually be in a position of 'overhearing' rather than of being directly addressed. She relates this to gender identity: 'gender is a crucial element for determining whether readers consider they are being directly addressed or whether they are in a position of overhearing' (Mills: 1992:188). We might add that other kinds of reader identities such as that of 'foreigner' may lead to marginalisation, may, that is, offer readers roles as mere overhearers rather than as participators in the interaction.

In Goffman's (1981) terms readers may be 'animators' rather than 'authors' of their reading; in other words the identities made available to them do not permit them to engage directly with textual meaning. Widdowson (1992:x) puts it thus: 'only as author does the reader provide an interpretation' This begs the question as to what exactly is involved in interpretation, which I turn to next.

2.2.1.1 Interpretation, Analysis or Response

At the same time as we have moved from a view of reading as extracting from to interacting with, discourse about reading has shifted from talk of comprehension to interpretation. However, 'interpretation' is itself a contested term. Moreover, in the light of the discussion in chapter one about critical discourse analysis, some account of the difference between the terms 'analysis' and 'interpretation' seems called for. Widdowson (1995) in fact claims that the notion of a critical discourse analysis is inherently contradictory, - that because critical analysts espouse a politically committed position and indeed deny the possibility of disinterestedness, analysis is precluded. It is possible to argue, however, that in the case of critical discourse analysis, as with conventional discourse analysis, analysis and interpretation are both involved and that interpretation is an outcome of analysis. We are still left with the difficulty which Widdowson points to, namely that the analysis is motivated, as noted in chapter one, by the concerns of the analyst who is not and, certainly in the case of the critical discourse analyst, does not claim to be disinterested. However by separating analysis, that is the examination of features of texts - partial and selective as it necessarily is - from interpretation, as a view of the overall intention and effect of a text in the light of such examination judged in conjunction with a wide range of contextual factors, one can achieve a degree of distance or detachment. This is especially the case if one's own reading of a text is offered to the inspection of others in an interpretative community.

It may be useful to see our reactions to written texts as moving from: initial response, to analysis to interpretation, the key difference between our understanding of these terms being: response is first-glance, schema activating and relatively

unconsidered; analysis a closer focusing on the language of the text; interpretation a revisiting of initial response in the light of textual scrutiny and peer group discussion.

In cases of our everyday reactions to texts for immediate functional purposes - that is where there is simply inadequate time for much reflection - the process is short-circuited so that we move from response to interpretation, - or the two phases become fused. However, as an educational procedure, argued for in this thesis, analysis mediates between first response and interpretation and specific textual warrant is required to support interpretations.

Moreover, a CDA orientation does not preclude a plurality of interpretations. Indeed, the view taken in this thesis is that a range of interpretations may be derived from a text which take account of contextual factors involved in its production and reception, certainly to a much greater degree than in comprehension models of reading, which tend to centre on the principle of single correct answers.

Does this mean then that all interpretations are equally legitimate? My answer is no. I argue in Wallace 1992a that some readers are in a stronger position than others to offer legitimate responses. They may in a relatively straightforward way simply have more knowledge of the language itself. That is, they may have richer lexical knowledge or familiarity with the lexicogrammatical structure of the genre in question. And of course they may be better readers than others begging the question as to what we understand by effective reading which is addressed below.

Even when we move from literal representations of textual meaning into more disputed territory relating to the deriving of inferences, some interpretations will be better based than others. And, of particular relevance to this thesis, and more controversially, ideologically based interpretations will not be of equal legitimacy. Careful and detailed textual support will need to be adduced and - as discussed in chapter three - offered to the scrutiny of others.

In short, the shift from a text oriented view of reading to a reader oriented one certainly allows for multiple interpretations. However this is not to suggest that any and all responses are permitted. This is readily acknowledged at the propositional level, where responses to texts will be expected to relate to the conventionally understood meanings of the text, but more contentious at the ideological level. Some

such as Widdowson (personal communication) for instance, would wish to argue that ideological meaning is a feature not of texts at all but merely of interpretation. However one needs then to consider whether one is permitted, for instance, to say that one finds a text sexist or racist without offering any textual warrant for such a response or, put rather differently, to argue that a disembodied text (Eco [1992] gives the example of a text found in a bottle at sea) can never be attributed with ideological meaning.

2.2.2 The Role of the Text:

This question brings us back to the issue of how far the text itself, - divorced from writer intention or reader interpretation - carries meaning. Just what is its status? If, as most now agree, we wish to challenge the view of texts as mere containers of meaning and we prefer, as has now become commonplace, to talk of 'negotiating meaning', we still need to ask: where exactly is meaning initially located, where does our search begin?. In general, as Lodge (1987:90) notes, there is scepticism about 'the possibility of recuperating a fixed or stable meaning from discourse'. Lodge is talking of literary texts but the same point might be made of non-literary discourse.

Eco [op cit] appears to wish to hold to some kind of stable meaning in texts, talking of the 'transparent intention of the text'(Eco et al 1992:78), which may be different from the intention of the author and which it is perverse to disregard. Others such as Rorty (cf. Collini in Eco et al 1992: 11) urge us to forget the quest to discover 'what the text is really like' - to use it merely for our own purposes.

Rorty's sanguine disregard for any inherent meaning or value within texts, whether intended by authors or not or whether ideologically, conceptually or aesthetically based, may seem to take an extreme deconstructionist position. In principle, his is a position which is available for classroom teachers and students. The view taken in this thesis, however, is closer to Eco's, namely that the text qua text does carry meanings at a number of levels signalled, in complex ways, by the nature and combining of the formal features selected.

2.2.3 The Role of the Author

Where does the author fit into the picture, whether we see authorship in terms of actual, named individuals or are concerned with the principle of authorship more generally, of importance in the collective production of texts?. This takes us back to the issue of consciousness raised in chapter one. To what extent are linguistic choices in texts consciously made by the author and to what extent are they made for the author, in the sense that there is a readily available set of discourses - through which interpersonal and ideational effects are achieved in the text - which are taken by writers 'off the peg' so to speak. This would be the Foucauldian position espoused by Pennycook (1994a) for instance which would see subjects, whether speakers, writers or readers as socially constructed. Those who argue for a diminished role for the individual author will tend too to question the extent to which authors have ownership of the meanings of their texts; that is they will challenge the view that any dispute over a text's meaning can be resolved by reference to the author's communicative intent. On this view, the text once created becomes a resource for the construction of fresh interpretations for all readers including a text's original author or authors.

The position argued here is that we need to see texts as jointly constructed both in a literal sense, as texts - certainly published texts - go through editing processes which may involve participation by many different individuals - but also because we inevitably plagiarise; the voices heard in our texts are the influential social and personal forces in our lives. As argued more fully in chapter one, there is a sense in which discourses - in the Foucauldian sense of everyday institutionalised ways of talking about things - construct our texts for us. However just as critical reading involves gaining some distance from exactly those taken for granted representations, so does it behove critical writers to aim similarly for a greater awareness of and resistance to these routinised constructions.

2.3 The L2 Reader

With what kind of identity does the L2 reader approach the foreign language text? Is it not over-deterministic to represent the L2 reader as inevitably an outsider, one who is marginalised and disempowered in the sense that he or she is destined

never to be a fully proficient reader in the foreign language ?. It will be argued below that it is largely the decision of teachers, whether they wish the readers in their classes to submit as novices or to lay claim to kinds of expertise which can in fact offer them advantages over the indigenous, model reader. This view is central to the interpretation of critical reading offered here. Moreover, L2 readers do not simply approach texts as foreigners. As with all readers, their identities are complex and interwoven. They come to texts with different identities and different reader roles which shift in the course of reading. Nonetheless, in a whole range of ways L2 readers tend to be perceived by teachers and positioned by materials writers as incompetent not just because of inadequate linguistic proficiency but because of assumed lack of cultural competence in the reading of texts written for native speakers of English.

In other words, it may be hard for the second language reader to claim equality of status with the model L1 reader, a disadvantage which may be compounded by a number of factors. By way of illustration, Janks and Ivanic (1992) quote the case of the visiting scholar spending a period of time at a British university who had difficulties in adjusting to his new identity as a student rather than a fellow colleague of the university's academic staff. On confronting one of these with his sense of disempowerment she gave him one of her papers to read - one she was still in the process of working on. In doing so, claim Janks and Ivanic (op cit: 310), 'she constructed a new position for them both: collaborative colleagues.' One may doubt the ability of individuals to counter institutionalised disadvantage in such ad hoc ways. Nonetheless the anecdote draws attention to the taken for granted circulation of power; it highlights the manner in which readers can be offered a disadvantaged reading position not just through the text itself or even the contextual circumstances of its reading, but through the way in which various people - often of higher status than the reader - can mediate in the event, acting as gatekeepers or additional filters between text and original reader.

2.4 The Role of Reader in the Ongoing Interaction with Text

Once we have considered the positions which readers, writers and the physical text itself take vis a vis each other, we can look at the ongoing interaction. Here we

are talking less of social roles or identities of readers and writers - as determined for example by gender, nationality or class and status - and more of how those initial identities come into play in the course of processing written text.

Much of the current literature on the reading process centres around the strategies used by effective and less effective readers. It coexists with research on reading skills which has a longer history. As Urquhart notes (1996:24): 'skills may be seen as an attempt to break down the monolithic aspects of "comprehension" into more manageable, more teachable, more testable components'. However, as Urquhart points out, as far back as 1979, Lunzer and Gardner in an extensive research project were unable to provide evidence for the psycholinguistic reality of the skills taxonomy which they initially proposed. Therefore, while a skills orientation persists in much reading research, other researchers have shifted attention to empirical examination of the strategies which readers use or claim to use. There is now a substantial body of research which aims to identify what kinds of thinking processes readers are drawing on in the course of reading. Some of these can be captured in verbal protocols, used for example, by Cavalcanti (1987) who asked her students in silent reading to 'think aloud' and therefore verbalise when they noticed a pause in their reading process which indicated a potential problem situation. Other studies have involved asking students to consider their strategies retrospectively. For example Kletzien (1991 in Davies 1995:50) asked students after they had completed a cloze exercise to explain their thinking processes as they had tried to overcome problems with identifying the missing word.

In some studies supposedly good readers are identified by standardised tests and their strategies are then compared to less good readers identified by the same measure. Thus, as Hosenfield points out (1977 and 1984) successful readers, asked to report their own strategies, used a wide range of strategies: they skipped inessential words, guessed from context, read in broad phrases and continued reading the text when they were unsuccessful in decoding a word or phrase. Other studies however, claim that good readers do not in fact skip, but read nearly every word on the page. Thus research in eye movement has been drawn on to show that in laboratory

conditions good readers apparently fixate over 80% of content words and over 40% of function words (Harrison 1992).

One difficulty with some of these studies of characteristics of good readers, as Urquhart (1996) points out, is that the tests used initially to identify supposedly good readers may firstly be very crude and secondly select just those readers who will score well on the particular measures used in the research. In other words, other kinds of effective reading behaviour may simply not be captured by the research procedures used. Moreover, the experimental conditions of many of these studies are different in striking ways from the whole range of real life settings, including classroom ones, in which readers engage with written texts for different purposes.

A further difficulty is with identifying the status of strategy. How can strategies be satisfactorily discriminated from each other and, more importantly, how do they inter-relate or link to some over-arching kind of position or stance on the reader's part?. Moreover, how can the critical examination of ideological aspects of texts, the focus of this study, fit into a strategy framework? Indeed, frequently, no framework is provided in the research studies ; rather we are offered open- ended lists of discrete strategies, sometimes as many as fifty being identified, as described in the studies reported by Davies (1995).

Because of the problems involved in identifying specific strategies or even, so Urquhart (op cit) claims, the ability of the strategies research ultimately to distinguish in ways initially hypothesised between so-called good and poor readers, other researchers studying the interaction between L2 readers and texts are concerned less with attempts to identify good readers in terms of the deployment of sets of strategies than with exploring in greater depth the kinds of on-line responses made by readers confronted by different genres in different situations. (cf. e.g. Koo forthcoming). The encounter with written texts is seen less in terms of strategies for gaining meaning by reader from text than a dialogue between reader and writer mediated by text and context and guided by reader purpose (cf. Widdowson 1979, Wallace 1992a). This account of reading, as opposed to those studies which take a cognitive psychology orientation, offers us a more socioculturally based view of the process in that it acknowledges contextual factors in the reading event, such as the role of reader

identity. On this view, the relatively stable identities we start out with will influence the fluid and changing responses we make in the course of processing written texts. This dialogic view of reading also has the potential to build in a critical orientation : in acknowledging the social identity of the reader it takes note of the way in which on line reader responses make reference, directly or indirectly, to the reader's own ethnic or gender identity. An example may make the point: Yukako, a Japanese student, was asked to do a free verbal report on a text about Singapore (c.f. 8.2.4.). After some minutes, following an ongoing summary of the main points of content, she said : 'Ah, I don't like this article so much ..or other European article..seem like they're looking at Far East people in some different way..like people who's mad..who act beyond their comprehension'. Here Yukako, was bringing to bear her identity as an Eastern woman on a text written for Western readers. Even though Yukako does not explicitly identify 'they' and 'their' in this response, she is clearly distancing herself from the preferred reading of the text. She is commenting not on the propositional content but on the discourses embedded within the text; not on what is said but how it is said. A British student, Walter, on the other hand offered a convergent reading of the same text in that he appeared to accept the content of the text as unproblematic, with comments such as: 'OK, first paragraph on how hard and harsh the rules are'. The point I wish to make is not that Walter is an uncritical reader; merely that, asked as he was to 'just comment on the text' he opted for a convergent cooperative reading, which focused on content and structure rather than ideological aspects of textual meaning, characterised in terms of discourse and genre.

In short, we may want to think of critical reading less to do with specific strategies than with an overall stance or position, an orientation to the reading task. If asked to verbalise their responses to texts, readers may reveal not just their strategies as readers at the micro level of response to individual utterances, but their stance both critically, conceptually and affectively, influenced by their personal and social histories as readers. One goal of this research is to explore not the exercise of strategies but to take a wider perspective on the sociocultural as well as individual resources which readers bring with them to a reading task. One way in which reader experiential and

knowledge resources have been built into a model of the reading process is through the literature on Schema Theory which I turn to next.

2.5 Schema Theory

Schema theory is concerned with the way readers match up incoming data from the text with existing mental representations of situations, events or phenomena. Widdowson (1983: 34) describes schemas as 'cognitive constructs which allow for the organisation of information in long term memory'. Cook (1989, 69) puts it thus: 'The mind, stimulated by key words or phrases in the text or by the context, activates a knowledge schema' Widdowson and Cook emphasise the cognitive characteristics of schemas. And, as Swales (1990) notes, schema theorists have been mostly concerned with cognitive aspects of text processing.

However schematic knowledge is also socially based. For instance, D'Andrade (D'Andrade and Strauss 1992 in Richardson 1995:76) argues that cognitive schemas are learned in specific social contexts. If we take a construct like 'mother' for instance, while there are clear core universals cognitively speaking to be attached to the concept, what it means to be a mother, the responsibilities and social advantages which accrue to the role and so on, will clearly differ. One can make the link between the Foucauldian sense of discourse, as presented in chapter one, and the notion of schema to claim that in different social milieus different discourses about motherhood will be in circulation. It follows that members of different social groups will have different 'motherhood' schemas.

Cook (1994) discusses the manner in which schemas reinforce stereotypes. Certainly much if not most of our day to day processing of texts proceeds on the basis of confirmation of existing knowledge and attitudes. Cook argues that because of their stereotypical nature, schemas serve to reinforce prejudices, unexamined judgements about everyday reality, kinds of behaviour and stock responses to the unfamiliar. For this reason, claims Cook, we should value texts which have a schema breaking function. He talks particularly of literature as serving this role. But, as Cook concedes, literature does not hold the premium on schema disruption. The intellectual quality, the integrity of non-literary texts, such as expository pieces, can be judged -

as much as aesthetic value with literary texts - on its ability to challenge conformity. It is partly for this reason that the view taken in this work is that texts are not equally ideologically pernicious. In intellectual terms, texts variably challenge their readers to question conformity to stereotypical views. Moreover, the 'stock response' nature of schemas suggests that we see its role as key in first impression reading (c.f. 2.2.i.i.). One goal of critical reading is to throw open to question such initial unanalysed readings.

It follows too that in a social setting such as a classroom a diversity of responses to the same text is healthy in that it challenges the 'common-sense' of unified schema-based stock reactions. This is, incidentally, much more readily achieved in a multicultural classroom. As teachers we might aim for a diversity of interpretations which cut across the grain of stale and routine responses. This does not mean that consensus will not emerge over time, but it will be rationally based, reflected upon and open to critique, not founded on a given, unanalysed 'common-sense.' In short, schema changing rather than schema confirming is one of the key principles of critical reading.

We have seen that, in the service of a critical orientation to reading, it is possible to draw on the valuable work done in reading theory in two fields: strategy use and schema theory, but to shift them away from their usual territory in cognitive psychology and relocate them as social/critical rather than mentalistic constructs. Thus strategies are more than discrete cognitive responses to texts; they are in interplay with a variety of social factors. At the same time, schema activation involves bringing into play complex kinds of social identities. We are now be in a position to sum up some major pedagogic principles in what I call here, as a convenience, conventional and critical reading. In what way does critical reading build upon or depart from current conventional practice, influenced by the movements described above?

2.6 Conventional Reading: principles, purposes and practice

2.6.1 Principles:

- 1) For a long time reading was seen mainly as a skill, albeit one which was integrated with others. Thus we typically talked of the four skills - reading, writing listening and speaking. More recently both researchers and practitioners, as noted above, have preferred to talk of 'strategies', as the sets of cognitive resources which readers draw on in attempting to make sense of texts. In spite of the difficulties surrounding ways of characterising strategies, this change in discourse about the reading process was not entirely cosmetic or superficial. It represented an advance in our conceptualisation of the reading process in so far as it acknowledged the existing problem-solving abilities of learners rather than merely emphasising discrete skills which needed to be specifically taught. What has continued to be largely missing, however, is discussion of reading as social practice.

- 2) A second, usually unexamined, assumption is that the aim is to read as native speakers do. This has led to the second language reader being viewed largely in deficit terms. What has tended not to be addressed is the possible advantages which L2 readers might have over L1 readers.

- 3) Thirdly, the dominant stance to texts has been one of deference to the author. Debate about the real or true meaning of texts is answered in the author's favour. The author has ownership of his or her text.

- 4) Finally, where the possibility of critique is acknowledged, it is in terms of the propositional content of texts. When Widdowson, for instance, (1984) acknowledges the role of resistance and talks of submissive and assertive reading, he is talking of resistance to faulty logic or ideas, not so much of ideological stance.

2.6.2 Purposes:

While we may no longer be exclusively concerned with the search for correct answers in conventional reading, the overall goal is to cooperate with the writer to achieve communication. Major purposes are seen to be either for information or pleasure with a consequent shift of accuracy and fluency focus, depending on the nature of the text. The reader's development is seen as moving from self-consciousness to automaticity. The desired reading outcome is an L2 reader who (supposedly like the typical L1 reader) does not think about features of the text - certainly not formal features - but processes the text comfortably and unselfconsciously so as to gain maximum information or enjoyment.

2.6.3 Practice:

For a long time we have, rightly I believe, challenged the 'coming cold to the text' experience of earlier L2 readers, confronted with texts shorn of any contextual information. Recent practice, building largely on some of the principles of schema theory described earlier, has tended to follow a so-called pre/while/post reading procedure. This is based on the communicative principle of replicating some kind of real life reading situation where we come to a text with certain kinds of initial knowledge and with questions to be answered which affect the way we read the text and the outcomes which follow. This has been the informing principle of the influential work of methodologists such as Grellet (1981) and has underpinned textbooks on reading for the last fifteen or sixteen years (cf. for example Davies and Whitney 1979, and Barr, Clegg and Wallace 1981)

2.7 Critical Reading: principles, purposes and practice

2.7.1 Principles:

1) Critical reading represents a challenge to the skills-based view which emphasises the building of discrete kinds of abilities based - albeit often implicitly - on some supposed hierarchy of difficulty. Moreover, its emphasis is different from, though not

in conflict with, the strategies view, in that critical reading focuses less on individual responses to texts and more on communally negotiated ones.

2) Critical reading does not see non-native speaker readers in their reading of authentic, non-pedagogic texts, as necessarily disadvantaged - on the contrary. Because they are not the primary addressees of texts written for an indigenous readership, they may be more aware of the way in which texts position readers, that is, the manner in which the preferred or model reader is embedded within the text. Not being invited to collude in a text's ideological positioning, foreign language readers are arguably in a stronger position both to perceive and to resist it.

3) Critical reading does not privilege an author's communicative intent but is concerned with effect. The aim is not to converge schematically with the author; the author is not the sole or ultimate arbitrator of a text's meaning. This is not to take, however, a totally open, relativist position, one that assumes that every interpretation is as good as another. This position reflects Widdowson's view regarding the reading of literature: the student must offer an interpretation which is warranted by the text (Widdowson 1992: X1V). Some interpretations will be more credible than others.

4) Most importantly, critical reading involves critiquing not just the logic, argument or sentiments expressed in texts but the ideological assumptions underpinning them.

Finally, in addition to these principles, we need, I suggest, to add a further and key one which relates critical reading to the wider project of critical literacy. We might articulate this principle thus: while critical reading can be taught explicitly through classroom procedures, it looks beyond the classroom to the way in which reading and writing practices are carried out and perceived in the wider society. It argues that we need some understanding of what it means to be literate in contemporary societies if we are to be able to make any judgements about the kinds of social and personal identities available to our students in either L1 or L2 reading, both within and beyond the classroom. Street (1984) introduced the distinction

between an autonomous and an ideological model of literacy. If we take an ideological view, in Street's terms, engagement with literacy does not just consist of the process of teaching and learning particular kinds of awareness and metalinguistic abilities in school settings but involves awareness of literacy practices, both within schools and in real life, which are mediated by wider sociocultural values and attitudes. This view fits in with a critical language awareness orientation which aims to make students aware not just of the existence of different forms of language in different settings, but of the implications of power involved in their use and circulation.

2.7.2 Purposes:

The purposes of critical reading can be seen as linguistic, conceptual/critical and cultural. Linguistic aims involve helping students to gain an understanding of the nature of ideological meanings embedded in texts as indicated by the way language is used. The aim is to draw on students' grammatical knowledge - not so much in order to aid the reading process but to facilitate reflection on the effect of language choice. Here foreign language students tend to be advantaged, as I note in Wallace 1992b, over native speaker readers educated in British schools, who receive little formal grammar instruction, especially in the case of English. Foreign language students, by contrast, tend to have a fairly well-developed knowledge of key grammatical terms which can be put to use as a tool in text analysis.

In the case of the development of conceptual/critical abilities, the aim is to develop what Wells (1991: 63) has called epistemic literacy, which means being able to move beyond the text to develop a cogent argument around it. Wells notes how even very young children will do this if provided with opportunities, for example, to discuss not just the events but the implications of those events, as described in stories. They will make cognitive and critical links to their own lives, and one might call this the beginning of critical literacy in so far as children are not just understanding but questioning and challenging some of those implications. Written texts, unlike spoken interactions, offer stable points of reference for this shared debate.

We do not always simply read texts in daily life; we may - depending on the degree to which a text is socially or personally significant - re-read it, note how it is referred to in other texts, take part in discussions around it and so on. In terms of the classroom context, a relevant concern is to promote serious, elaborated discussion around texts in the foreign language, important I believe when much classroom talk, in the EFL situation at least, revolves around 'chat' of a fairly trivial kind, especially in so-called communicative classrooms.

When we come to consider the cultural implications of a critical reading orientation, even though the texts drawn upon in a critical reading class are likely to be highly culture- specific, the goal is not to teach students about 'British - or French or German - culture' (whatever we might take that to involve) but to promote insights into cultural assumptions and practices, similarities and differences across national boundaries. Indeed for the students in this study one of the most valuable aspects of the course was the opportunity to share different cultural perspectives; to see, for example, what was common ground as well as to observe and acknowledge readings taken from different cultural perspectives.

2.7.3 Practice:

Lankshear (1994: 10) offers a broad progression pedagogically speaking in his observation that a critical literacy might involve:

- 1) Knowing literacy (or literacies) critically, that is having a critical perspective on literacy/literacies generally
- 2) Having a critical/evaluative perspective on particular texts
- 3) Having a critical perspective on - being able to make critical readings of - wider social practices, arrangements, relations, allocations, procedures etc. which are mediated by, made possible and partially sustained through the reading of texts.

We can see these aspects of awareness as being progressively developed during a reading course. Although there will not be a strictly linear development, each stage will - broadly speaking - build upon the next. Thus we see that critiques of individual texts are informed by a critical understanding of what literacy itself means in particular social settings. Then, as a third stage, readings of specific texts can be related to readings of other texts, spoken and written, which students may observe both in the foreign language and home environments.

I raised some of the objections to critical discourse analysis at the close of chapter one. I will briefly revisit them here in terms of their application to the teaching of reading in the classroom. They can be represented briefly as follows:

- Critical reading is not possible: it is not possible to argue that every single linguistic feature carries ideological weight. And if, as inevitably we must, we select when it comes to practical analysis, what motivates our selection? Finally how do we match particular linguistic features of texts to ideological effects?. How is it possible to argue, for instance, that the use of a deleted agent is motivated, consciously or otherwise, by a desire to conceal causation, which in turn is linked to institutionalised discrimination against certain social groups?
- Critical reading is not only fundamentally unfeasible; attempts to engage in it are unethical. As a classroom procedure it is tyrannical. It is a way of telling students how texts should be read.
- Critical reading is redundant. People are already critical readers - perfectly able to see the way in which texts position them or misrepresent states of affairs or events, certainly in those cases where the events are of interest or relevance to them. The approach is patronising and offensive.

In other words, critical reading either cannot, should not or need not be done. I shall revisit these objections at the end of this work - not necessarily to rebut them in any definitive way but to permit the reader to judge whether the description and discussion of the practical study in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 confirms, challenges or at least qualifies such misgivings. Provisionally my response is offered in the conclusion to this chapter.

2.8 Conclusion

In answer to the first objection, namely that critical reading, is unfeasible, I would concede that its text analysis aspects involve a partial and highly selective procedure. However, while a precise and comprehensive location of ideological meaning within texts remains inevitably elusive - as Batstone (1995) notes it is exactly this elusiveness and covertness which makes it powerful - it is feasible and productive to note the kinds of linguistic options available to writers and some of the major effects achieved, especially when linguistic choices consistently incline in one direction rather than another. CDA is able to provide some tools for offering clearer warrant to interpretations of texts - to support or challenge initial, largely intuitive responses.

In other words, we can, in some circumstances, use texts for critical, non-cooperative purposes, that is not simply read for information or pleasure. Indeed, because critical reading in this sense breaks Grice's (1975) cooperative principle we may wish not to call this activity 'reading' in the usually understood sense at all. We might prefer to draw on Eco's term (e.g. in 1979) and talk of using a text rather than reading it. Arguably, in daily life we do both. After all, critical commentary on texts of all kinds, from popular media ones to academic ones, is part of the common currency of everyday exchanges as well as intellectual debate.

In short, we might want to make a difference between reading a text analytically and 'being a reader of', for example, *The Sun* or *The Guardian* which will involve a generally convergent, cooperative stance, for the obvious reason that because we are regular readers of these texts, they reflect and reinforce our existing ideological, even aesthetic preferences. (Hence the Longman Dictionary of Culture (1992) has entries under 'Sun Reader' and 'Guardian Reader'). This of course raises the

question as to how far we are willing or able to use texts of which we are the reader ? It is clearly especially important, though much more difficult, to critique what we typically accept as common sense, because in keeping with our existing world view. Thus, one important goal of critical reading is to allow readers to change perspective - to shift that is from 'being a reader of' to using a text for critique. In this way, critical reading - or the use of texts - can take its place alongside conventional reading.

Moreover, we may want to draw on a dichotomy introduced by Giroux (1983) and talk not of opposition but of resistance. The first can be seen as an instinctive unreflected upon response to domination, of the kind described in Willis's classic (1977) study of schooling, *Learning to Labour*, where the boys Willis describes ultimately colluded in their own oppression; the second being a considered, reflected upon, rational stance. Indeed resistance, - as opposed to opposition - allows us detachment and distance from just the kind of ideological pre- judgements that some critics of CDA, notably Widdowson, have cautioned against. For it means not just that readers should be prepared to gain critical distance from texts which they would, generally speaking, align themselves with, but that oppositional barriers will be lowered in the reading of texts known to adopt a broadly different political and ideological stance from the reader's own.

When we come to the second question - should critical reading be done, much if not most of the time we will be conventional, convergent readers, much like the student Walter quoted earlier in 2.3. Critical reading is not so much a set of strategies but a stance which we can move into, one which usefully offers us a critical distance or a fresh perspective on what we would otherwise see as unworthy of comment. In ethnographic terms, it makes the familiar strange.

In answer to the final question : need it be done ? - that is, is it useful for the people who concern us here, - foreign language students. In one sense, the answer is 'no'. For L2 readers, especially with the educational background of the students described in this study, are frequently very good critical readers. They are certainly able to notice aspects of texts which have eluded me. However, there are good reasons for a critical orientation which can be summed up as follows.

Firstly, many L2 readers welcome the opportunity to exercise their undoubted skills - opportunities not always available in the foreign language classroom. Secondly, English as an international means of communication invites critical reading. Arguably the ideologies and cultural assumptions embedded in a wide range of English language texts are more widely disseminated in written than via spoken texts. Written English language texts of a whole range of genres from popular culture ones to academic writing increasingly carry universal authority. It has been noted for instance (c.f. Kourilova 1995) that scholars wishing to be part of the international academic community in science or medicine are required to publish in British and American journals which exert their own culture specific conventions. In view of this global dominance of English, refusal to engage with the language as such (c.f. Phillipson 1992) is unlikely to undermine its hegemony. For this reason a more feasible option might be to encourage learners to reposition themselves via the currently dominant discourses of English. This is the position which is taken by Peirce (c.f. Peirce 1989) who argues the case, in the context of South Africa, not for the replacement of English as a lingua franca by an indigenous language, but for a new kind of English, one inflected with different kinds of meanings. The ability and willingness to see how one can draw variably on the resources of a single language is part of critical literacy. Moreover, as argued above, critical literacy involves not just the reading of specific texts but makes wider reference to ways of reading and talking about texts in a late Twentieth Century world. In this sense it can be seen as part of a transnational English which does not necessarily carry with it the discourses of its colonial history.

In talking of a role for critical literacy in the context of transnational English, one inevitably needs to deal with uses of language and literacy beyond the specific and local. If foreign language students wish to play a potential part in the wider English speaking world, the kind of literacy we are arguing for constitutes in Gee's (1990) terms a Secondary Discourse, secondary in that it allows one to critique other, primary ones, linked to our primary socialisation (c.f. Berger and Luckman 1966). Halliday (1996:353) similarly differentiates primary from secondary knowledge which is more heterogeneously constituted and specific to educational settings.

Critical literacy, as a secondary Discourse involves us gaining a metalevel awareness of other Discourses. (Gee (1990) uses the term 'Discourse' to mean ways of using language which link to various kinds of social identity) ; in order to gain control over critical literacy features of texts and literacy practices must be, I would argue, a specific focus of attention, regardless of the kinds of metalanguage which are drawn upon.

Moreover, in addition, a key feature of critical literacy is what I shall call 'metacritical awareness' by which we become aware not just of features of texts and literacy behaviour but of our own responses to these. Metacritical awareness is made apparent, for instance, by observations of textual interpretations - our own and those of others - which are offered retrospectively.

Gee's categorising of critical literacy as a secondary Discourse, - a position followed by Lankshear (1997) - in opposition to other ways of using language, including everyday forms of literacy as primary Discourses, has echoes of Bernstein's distinction between what he calls (1996:171) 'vertical' and 'horizontal' literacies. The latter are literacy practices linked to everyday activities and may be largely learned by observation and apprenticeship. Vertical literacies, on the other hand, build knowledge in school settings and are interdependent. We need I argue to place the development of critical literacy firmly in an educational setting and to see it, in the manner in which Bernstein and, in similar ways, Halliday (op cit) argue, as related to but ultimately distinct from everyday literacy practices. In the next chapter I look at the pedagogic setting in which critical literacy might be developed.

CHAPTER THREE: CRITICAL CLASSROOM PEDAGOGY

3.1 Introduction

A central tenet of this thesis is that critical discourse analysis, and more particularly critical reading, needs to be located in a critical pedagogy if it is to have any credibility as educational practice. An attempt has been made in the previous two chapters to identify some defining characteristics of critical discourse analysis and critical reading as opposed to or as extensions of orthodox discourse analysis and reading pedagogy. However, we need some overarching view of critical theory and critical pedagogy in which to locate the more micro processes we have been looking at. At the same time we need to widen the scope of enquiry to encompass the social and cultural context in which critical appraisal of texts takes place. This will be the focus of this chapter.

3.2 Critical Theory - construction of knowledge

Any educational activity must address the issue of what kind of knowledge is being transmitted, or constructed in classroom settings. A typical aim of education is likely to be, however this is achieved, to further the knowledge and understanding of topics which constitute the curriculum (Edwards and Mercer 1987:49). This may appear to be an unexceptional point to make unless one acknowledges that much classroom interaction is less to do with building understanding than taking part in rather ritualised events where participants do not reflect very deeply on the processes or content involved. Moreover, in the case of language teaching a dilemma relates to what kind of content knowledge is in play. The object of enquiry may be language itself, for instance as evidenced in written texts. This was a central focus of the class at the centre of this study. Additionally, there was an interest in the processes by which this knowledge was constructed and articulated, in particular the language which facilitated and revealed such processes.

However a much more fundamental question centres around the feasibility of growth in knowledge and understanding. How is reliable knowledge possible?

Bauman (1992 in Hoggart 1995:1) notes that '(the concept of post-modernism) proclaimed the end of the exploration of the ultimate truth of the human world or human experience.' With the demise of the old certainties does the pursuit of truth remain a feasible proposition in classrooms, or indeed elsewhere?

In attempting to answer this question we need to revisit the same issues which surround the questions raised in chapters 1 and 2, there articulated in terms of what kind of constancy of meaning lies within texts and whether truthful interpretations of texts are possible. It was noted that philosophers such as Richard Rorty believe such a quest is futile. As Hargreaves notes (1994: 39) 'adopting a postmodern theoretical position (as Rorty and others do) involves denying the existence of foundational knowledge on the grounds that no knowable social reality exists beyond the signs of language, image and discourse. Truth, reality and reason itself are therefore unavailable to human knowledge and understanding.' Such views, as Hammersley (1996a) notes, undercut any common ground and appeals to notions of truth can only be 'a rhetorical ploy'.

It is possible for proponents of CDA and its pedagogic applications, to argue the postmodern case. Pennycook, for instance, (1994a:133) appears to espouse a Foucauldian position which does not 'posit a reality to be unmasked, a truth that is represented or misrepresented in texts', judging that aims of CDA are better served by 'seeing how meaning is produced by discursive regimes'. However CDA then has to be judged entirely in terms of process i.e. in the process of deconstructing existing versions of social reality as evidenced, for example, in written texts, we are able to give voice to other versions, which are suppressed. However, any notion of greater truth as a goal or outcome of such an exploratory process is futile.

As Hargreaves (1994:39) observes, on this view - once the pursuit of truth is denied as an objective - any endeavour becomes motivated not by intellectual principles 'entailing a search for truth or understanding, but by political and ethical principles entailing the realisation of such things as justice, fairness and equity'.

Hargreaves' point raises the question as to whether the pursuit of political and ethical principles can be seen as distinct from the search for greater intellectual understanding. It is a question which is pertinent to critical discourse analysis, as

critics of CDA, notably Henry Widdowson, have challenged its intellectual basis while acknowledging - even applauding - the integrity of the political and ethical principles of some of its major exponents such as Norman Fairclough. The charge is that, as Widdowson puts it, (1995:516) 'conviction counts for more than cogency.' However, the view taken in this thesis, and discussed more fully below, is that notions of justice and equity, whether related to critique of written texts or to evaluation of classroom discourse, should be articulated within rational sets of beliefs, - they must be rationally defensible, aim, that is, for intellectual clarity and coherence. While 'a whole traditional ideology of representation is in crisis', yet, claims Eagleton (1988: 395), 'this does not mean that the search for truth is abandoned'. This view is echoed by the German philosopher, Jurgen Habermas, one of whose central beliefs is in emancipatory possibilities which are sought not merely for reasons of equity but because they are intellectually justifiable.

One of the ways in which Habermas (1979) attempts to argue for universal principles regarding the pursuit of truth, without espousing a whole-hearted Kantian transcendentalism is to propose a universal pragmatics, which he differentiates from what he calls 'empirical pragmatics' which attends to specific contexts of use. Drawing very much on the Speech Act literature and the work of Searle in particular, (cf. 1.2) he puts the case for sets of conditions which operate in all human communication and which are orientated to the reaching of understanding. Utterances, or language in use, relate to 1. the external reality of what is supposed to be an existing state of affairs, 2. the internal reality of what a speaker would like to express before a public as his intentions and 3. the normative reality of what is intersubjectively recognised as a legitimate interpersonal relationship. He sums this up by talking of three basic principles: truth, truthfulness and normative rightness, which relate to three types of speech action: constatives, avowals and regulatives. These validity claims, as Habermas (1979: 66) describes them, are invariably implied in speech oriented to reaching understanding and reflect the relation between the utterance and a) the external world, b) the social world and c) an inner world. In spoken (and presumably written interaction, though Habermas is talking largely about face to face communication) 'the speaker, in a cognitively testable way, assumes with a truth

claim, obligations to provide grounds (in the case of constatives), with a rightness claim, obligations to provide justification (in the case of regulative speech acts focusing on interpersonal relations) and with a truthfulness claim, obligations to prove trustworthy (in the case of expressive acts or avowals)'. (Habermas 1979:65)

In other words, different validity claims correlate with different types of speech action. With constatives, which would typify a cognitive mode of communication such as argument or discussion, the truth claim would be thematic. Inherent in the cognitive use of language, Habermas claims, is an obligation to provide grounds. 'Constative speech acts contain the offer to recur if necessary to the experiential source from which the speaker draws the certainty that his statement is true. If this immediate grounding does not dispel an ad hoc doubt, the persistingly problematic truth claim can become the subject of a theoretical discourse' (op cit 1979: 64)

To talk of truth in terms merely of the verifiability of facts will clearly not reveal much about the ideological underpinning of discourses. For this reason Habermas's truthfulness principle needs to work in conjunction with the truth claim. For it is truthfulness rather than truth which is frequently either wilfully or unwittingly sacrificed in much debate and which Eagleton (1988: 387) is referring to when he claims: 'it is not surprising that classical models of truth and cognition are increasingly out of favour in a society where what matters is whether you deliver the commercial or rhetorical goods.' In cases when media reports or politicians' accounts of events might be said to be 'delivering the goods' rather than engaging in a rational debate - and it is arguable that they constitute quite different genres - it is not so much that the truth in a literal sense is sacrificed but that the truthfulness claim is simply inoperable. In other words, one is bound to wonder if we are meant to take seriously comments like: 'the Conservatives support the victim; Labour supports the villain' (Michael Heseltine Radio 4 1996). What is at stake is not truth, as factual evidence could and indeed is adduced to support such statements, but truthfulness in the sense that we are, arguably, expected to take this utterance as a rhetorical thrust in party political discourse rather than a move in rational debate - as strategically motivated in short. In

Grice's terms an implicature comes into play to yield an other than face-value interpretation.

If this point is accepted one can challenge the relativist claim that all discourse is equally motivated by interest (and therefore ideologically tainted to the same extent) by asserting that educational discourse by definition will eschew the kind of sophistry which has come conventionally to characterise the discourse typical of genres in other domains such as politics. That is, the kind of theoretical discourse which, premised on truthfulness, pursues problematic truth claims finds its proper home in educational contexts; here students - and teachers - are expected to defend positions, adduce evidence and listen to counterevidence. As Hammersley (1996a) puts it, 'truth is a regulative ideal which we work towards.'

To argue the case, in broadly Habermasian terms, of rational justification does not mean that there is an absolutely neutral position or standpoint outside ongoing interpretation of texts or events. Nor does it mean that 'interpretations must lead in every case to a stable and unambiguously differentiated argument' (Habermas 1984: 100). A Habermasian position can support the possibility of a plurality of interpretations of any particular text. For the pragmatic universals relate not to specific and particular speech acts or speech events but provide the basis for the construction of an ideal speech situation, against which communicatively competent speakers can take their bearings. (For this reason, Pusey, a commentator on Habermas notes: 'all speech, even of intentional deception, is oriented towards the idea of truth' [Pusey 1987: 73]). What a Habermasian position does indicate, however, unlike Foucault's for instance, is that a goal of rationally agreed interpretations of events or texts or rationally based agreement to disagree is feasible. In this way Habermas presents a case for the pursuit of truth not on the basis that there are, as Roderick 1986 puts it 'theory -neutral facts', - timeless and absolutely neutral standpoints for inquiry - but that 'within the fallible context of human inquiry, 'foundationalism' in an attenuated sense can be found within the intersubjective workings of the community of inquirers themselves' (Roderick 1986:10). In short truth is collaboratively constructed in social interaction.

I do not intend this to mean that there are, as Hewitt, 1996, has expressed it: 'locally negotiated forms of reasonableness or rationality' which do not have universal applicability. As argued at the close of chapter one, any locally negotiated rationality must be located within universal principles of social justice and respect for persons. If the premises are morally or factually wrong there is simply no basis for the construction of a case, however skilfully constructed.

Certainly, as Thompson (1982:129) notes, there are difficulties with Habermas's view that consensual agreement will be induced by the force of better argument as opposed to, for example, compassion or the commitment to a common goal, or, one might add, with reference to Hewitt's work on racism, described in Hewitt 1996, deeply entrenched prejudices. However, it is a necessary goal for education to subject all kinds of personal experience and beliefs to critical scrutiny, to challenge and rethink the taken-for-grantedness of our primary socialisation, in Berger and Luckman's (1966) terms, and its associated primary Discourses (cf. Gee 1990). Moreover, strong personal, largely intuitive beliefs and feelings, are not necessarily in conflict with views arrived at on the basis of rational consensus but may be aligned with them. Held up to scrutiny they become more worth holding, more valuable. Where there is reluctance to abandon beliefs, even where rationally indefensible, subjecting them to intellectual examination at least helps one to better understand the boundaries between matters of faith and matters of reason.

An important strand in Habermas's thinking which is central to this thesis is the socially constructed nature of knowledge. Indeed one criticism which Habermas makes of Grice, with whose work Habermas's has obvious similarities, is that it gives undue attention to individual actors and individual intentionality rather than jointly constructed meaning. As Blything (1994:68) puts it: 'Habermas's aim is to reconstruct the general presuppositions of linguistic interaction which previous philosophers of language have only dealt with in particularistic terms.' However, as noted in chapter one, I do not wish to dispense with personal agency and responsibility; rather to see both as socially located. In other words the knowing subject is social - or rather, as I would wish to argue, one cannot have any sense of the individual without seeing how the construct of the individual emerges from the social; each concept is defined by

reference to the other. This is an important strand in Habermas's thinking, as noted in chapter one. He uses the term 'individuation' (e.g. 1992:152) to describe the manner in which the individual's sense of self emerges from the social, a process I see as central to the view of critical pedagogy I wish to present. 'No-one can construct an identity independent of the identifications that others make of him ' (Habermas 1979: 107). This social view of the construction of the individual extends to a social view of processes of understanding and interpretation, with echoes of the notion, presented earlier, of 'a community of interpreters'. Moreover, the notion of 'community' persists even when, physically speaking, we are alone in our engagement with written text. Even when alone, claims Habermas (1979:9), we understand meaning as a participant in communication: 'the interpreter who understands meaning is experiencing fundamentally as a participant in communication, on the basis of a symbolically established intersubjective relationship with other individuals, even if he is actually alone with a book, a document or a work of art'.

More obviously in social communities like classrooms, interpretations are consensually and collaboratively agreed, even if on a tentative and provisional basis. As Young (1992:7) puts it 'rationality is communicatively based and action cannot be truly critical and thus rational, if it is rational for only one individual or one nation'. One of the goals of this thesis is to explore through the empirical part of the work the nature of such rational consensus in classroom settings.

3.3 Implications for Classroom Communication: Universalism and Relativism

In the pursuit of rational consensus on a universalist basis, how do we then acknowledge culture specificity? This is clearly pertinent in the classrooms of interest here, which consist of students from a range of cultural backgrounds. How do we balance universalism with relativism? First, we need not deny that universalism carries different culture-specific inflections. There is diversity within unity - highlighted in a multicultural classroom, such as the one at the centre of this study.

Of course no classroom is culturally homogeneous; there is a complex range of interacting cultural identities represented in any classroom. Nonetheless such diversity is compounded in multinational and multiethnic classrooms, where some

learners will come from distinctly different traditions regarding what counts as rational debate and what identities are available for them to articulate in classroom settings. More specifically when it comes to interpretations of texts, they will simply notice different things. Thus, even if one wishes to avoid seeing nation and culture as coterminous, there are discourses which cut across gender and class and ethnicity identities, to the extent that a British readership in the widest sense may accept them as unexceptional, not worthy of note or comment while they are marked to an outsider reader as strange, even incomprehensible. As McCarthy (1994:91) notes: 'The supposition of mutual intelligibility ..can no longer be referred to a common cultural background with its shared schemes of interpretation and evaluation'. However, as argued in chapter two, this does not necessarily disadvantage the cultural outsider in her/his personal quest for meaning ; also she/he acts as a resource for others in a group of interpreters by fulfilling a schema breaking function for the rest of the class, offering a challenge to assumed shared taken for grantedness. Moreover, ultimately, if we accept the overriding principle of a multicultural universal discourse 'we can and must', as McCarthy says, 'rely on the background of our common humanity, as we do the interpretative work we are required and 'trusted' to do in cross-cultural dialogue' (1994:92).

In short, what emerges from a multicultural class is the manner in which experience, while seen through different lenses nonetheless has universal commonality because of our shared world environment both socially and biologically (cf. Andersen 1988). Or as Brumfit (1995:30) puts it: 'Working within the range of rich and varied frameworks which people use, it is possible for individuals with goodwill to co-operate in the development of our understanding of the world'.

If we accept the importance/feasibility of the pursuit of greater understanding of global truths, then the question we should start with is: 'how can members of a community come to an agreement that something is true' (Habermas 1984 in Young 1992: 7). This has implications for the construction of consensus in classrooms. I turn next to the ways in which knowledge is constructed in classroom settings.

3.4 Critical Pedagogy

3.4.1 Opposition or resistance:

As noted at the outset in chapter one, the term 'critical' itself demands theorising if it is not to be drained of any sensible meaning. Equally with critical pedagogy. As Lankshear notes (1994:5) 'the development of critical acumen is a perennial educational ideal....everybody believes they are doing it'. At the end of chapter two I argued that critical reading is not necessarily oppositional, and noted the usefulness of the distinction made by Giroux (1983) between opposition and resistance, the first being a purely instinctive unreflected upon, passive opposition to domination which can contain elements of accommodation to the wider status quo. This was the position of the working class boys in Willis' (1977) study where the antagonism to schooling ultimately left the boys personally and socially powerless, destined to a future of low paid jobs. (twenty years later the prospect would be of no jobs at all). Moreover the boys' collusion with forms of social injustice related to sexism and racism beyond the institution of schooling renders any claims as to the emancipatory potential of such forms of opposition dubious. As Giroux (1983:285) notes, apparent acquiescence to the status quo if accompanied with a critical questioning stance may be more politically progressive in the long run. For this reason I see the role of critical pedagogy and critical reading of texts as not so much oppositional to the particular as an encouragement of a critical stance which serves students in the longer rather than shorter term. Moreover, just as opposition can in fact denote submission, so can resistance accommodate agreement, as I noted in 2. 8.

If we wish to develop in classrooms resistance rather than opposition, then in terms of pedagogy a major principle for all participants in both the overall class event and particular reading events within it is to aim for critical distance by which we can read texts and events from a range of different perspectives, opting if we choose - though not necessarily - for non-mainstream or marginalised readings or interpretations. This means going beyond responses at logical, propositional levels, however rigorous and carefully supported by textual evidence they might be, to

evaluate truth not just in terms of verifiability of facts but in terms of truthfulness, in Habermas's sense.

3.4.2 Some Provisional Bearings on Critical Pedagogy

Where does the preceding discussion leave us in terms of pedagogy?. Can one teach people to be critical in the sense I have been arguing for? In attempting to answer this question, it seems appropriate at this point to provide some provisional bearings or points of reference: we might identify goals in terms of several strands which can be seen not as hierarchical but as moving in an expanding circle from core defining principles to other additional factors which allow us to extend and enrich the notion of what it means to be critical.

1. An initial key principle is looking or noticing. The painter David Hockney argues that we can be taught to see things: 'everybody has the potential of looking at things more carefully in the world about us. But you have to be helped to look' (The Guardian Friday November 10 1995). Indeed education is arguably, if one eschews a solely transmission view, fundamentally about helping people to look.

2. More specifically, we are talking about new ways of seeing things, what Cazden (1988) calls 'reconceptualisations': 'a great deal of education is devoted to teaching students to see phenomena in a new way, to reconceptualise circles as wheels or wheels as circles' (Cazden 1988:112). And it is likely to be reconceptualisations of everyday phenomena - those things which are not typically talked about because taken for granted - , including language phenomena, which are most illuminating.

3. Moreover, these reconceptualisations may be clarified and enriched in two ways. Firstly metalevel awareness of literacy practices and texts might be more readily achieved if teachers offer students a metalanguage, as a set of linguistic tools to articulate in more precise ways impressions which may be otherwise noticeable to them only at a fairly high level of generality.

Additionally, as argued at the close of chapter two, critical pedagogy should aim to promote metacritical awareness. This is more readily achieved in the classroom when it is seen as an interpretative community. Students come better to understand

their own opinions and attitudes when they are located within the shared and social. We are talking of the joint discovery of new ways of looking at things; and the teacher is part of this, although she has greater expertise and particular skills to facilitate discovery. Here the Vygotskian principle of 'zone of proximal development' (cf. Vygotsky 1978) can be said to come into play, by which a more expert helper allows a learner to reach out to kinds of knowledge and learning not accessible to them if attempted alone.

If these principles are adhered to in a practical way two major outcomes might be aspired to:

1. At the level of the individual, learners can be more aware of creative, imaginative possibilities in their observations and interpretations of a whole range of phenomena, not just written texts. By being helped to look or notice, they are in a stronger position to use hitherto unnoticed aspects of the real world, including language, to their own advantage.

2. Critical pedagogy is not just committed to the individual personal development of learners but has an agenda for social change. It is alert to inequalities of power in the real world beyond the classroom and to reflection on possible courses of action, on how things might be differently done. In short the goal is nothing less than to enable people to 'participate in the understanding and transformation of their society' (Gramsci 1971 in Giroux 1987:2).

Central to this enterprise is a critical understanding of sets of options in terms of real world behaviour and the uses of language which accompany it. Critical discourse analysis plays its part here by centring on ways in which certain ways of doing things and talking about things, which may work to the accumulative disadvantage of some participants, will, simply because naturalised and taken for granted, not be noticed. Thus it is looking and noticing which drives the critical pedagogic process.

If it is agreed, as argued above that, at the same time, pedagogy must be consistent with the views of truth articulated above, this means that we are left with two major questions. What kind of classroom interaction will promote the kind of

pursuit of truth we are committed to - is one methodology better than another in this regard? How is consensus achieved or difference tolerated and acknowledged? What mechanisms are available for this? What are the limits on what is sayable? And what aspects of classroom management will better promote or drive forward this endeavour?

Secondly, how is knowledge furthered? How is it possible to say that there has been advance in critical knowledge, that is not of facts alone but of a greater range of possibilities and resources for uncovering truth and truthfulness? What can we take as evidence that learners as individuals have developed and enhanced potential and, socially, that the classroom has moved forward in knowledge - both knowledge about language and the wider kinds of knowledge and understanding which are also the concern of this study?.

3.5 Methods of Teaching

It is beyond the scope of this work to offer an account of a wide range of teaching philosophies and models of teaching. However some have become salient in discussion both of language teaching and, more specifically of literacy instruction, and therefore merit discussion here. The debates are articulated in different ways but tend to centre around an opposition, often overly polarised, between structured, teacher orchestrated models of learning and liberal progressivist views, sometimes viewed as 'learner centred.' The latter are typified, for instance, in the Whole Language approaches espoused by Kenneth and Yetta Goodman, (for example in Goodman, Goodman and Bird 1989). This work derives in part from a strong tradition in British primary school education which gives primacy to the resources which children bring to learning. The Whole Language movement challenges a continuing positivist construct of education, based on what Freire (1972a) has called the 'banking view of learning', which remains very powerful, particularly in the United States, and is currently enjoying a revival in the United Kingdom.

A positivist ideology is clearly inconsistent with the negotiated, socially constructed view of learning articulated here. Yet there are difficulties too with some

interpretations of progressivist philosophy which place great importance on the value of inherent individual capabilities.

3.5.1 Learner Centredness:

Learner centredness as a broad philosophy has played a valuable role in challenging previously rigidly perceived teacher/student roles in the classroom. Nonetheless, there are some difficulties in shifting focus from teacher to learner. There is, for example, a general failure to indicate the exact nature of the resources which learners supposedly bring to learning. Halliday (1990b), talks of the education of children but links can be made with discourse about adult education. He presents the progressivist learner-centred view thus: 'Each child is presented as a freestanding autonomous being; and learning consists in releasing and bringing into flower the latent awareness that is already there in the bud' (Halliday 1990b:1) Halliday goes on to contrast the essentially asocial views of learning, favoured by the progressivist romantics, which resonate with innatist views of development, with the interpretations of development and learning proposed by Bernstein (e.g. 1990) and Vygotsky (1962, 1978). Vygotsky in particular, gives great emphasis to learning as a social, collaborative process.

As Auerbach (1986) points out, approaches which place heavy emphasis on learner-centredness, when used with students from societies which put a low premium on individualism and self-expression, neglect preferred, communal ways of working and studying. It is ironic that many developing countries are nonetheless opting for highly individualised versions of autonomous learning, through, for example, self-access centres, even though some proponents of learner training (e.g. Sinclair 1996, personal communication) are anxious to point out that the methodologies they propose do not preclude collaborative classroom activity.

Much progressivist discourse sees a diminished role for the teacher. Certainly in the ELT literature, the teacher who minimises intervention, who negotiates the content of learning with her learners and does not take up talking time has been presented as ideal. There is a general failure to acknowledge the fact that learner-centred pedagogy, as with notions of emancipatory or critical literacy, comes with its

own ideological baggage. While I shall not be presenting a case for a teacher dominated classroom, I shall nonetheless argue in favour of judicious teacher input and intervention, again drawing on Vygotskian principles which argue the case for superior teacher knowledge. It follows that it is not so much the quantity of teacher input that should be evaluated as its quality and timing in the overall structure of a class. It is, after all, the teacher to whom responsibility is delegated for the learning which takes place. Moreover, it is, as noted in Wallace 1989:7, 'disingenuous to believe that teacher/pupil interaction can ever be an entirely equal encounter' I would add that it is not only not **possible** that it should be but not **desirable**, a view discussed more fully in chapter six.

In short, the teacher is more than a facilitator. She is in possession of a body of knowledge, in the case of this study about texts and reading procedures, which in one way or another it is her business to impart to learners.

3.6 Critical Pedagogy and English Language Teaching

The English Language Teaching class is often talked about as if it were a recognisable and distinctive genre (cf. Van Lier 1988 for example) neglecting the fact that classes of second language learners vary enormously in their goals and circumstances. To agree that language learning is a shared purpose of all such classes, does not further the debate, as all classes are mediated by language, including classes of native speakers. Admittedly, language is the focus of foreign language classrooms. But the practical questions which continue to exercise teachers and materials writers are: what kind or level of language and what kind of focusing is appropriate for which kinds of learners?. Even recent material which has ostensibly eschewed the earlier emphasis on structuralism tends to focus on the development of learners' language proficiency in terms of form, at the level of clause, more specifically, in the case of spoken language, at the level of utterance. This is especially the case in so-called notional/functional approaches which attend very little to ways of supporting learners' use of extended spoken discourse.

Moreover, the notion of communicative competence, strongly associated with notional/functional approaches to language teaching, has been seen very much in

terms of ability to communicate in appropriate ways interpersonally and not in terms of ability to argue a case, dissent or present a point of view. While there is a long tradition of support for the development of these abilities, particularly in written language, in ESP and EAP contexts, (cf. for example, Widdowson 1983 and Swales 1990) for the general language learner, even at a fairly advanced level, communicative ability is often seen as linked to 'the contextualised performance and interpretation of socially appropriate illocutionary acts in discourse' (Bachman 1992:252) The development of basic interpersonal skills has been a particular preoccupation of some versions of what has come broadly to be known as communicative language teaching, discussion of which I turn to next.

3.7 Communicative Language Teaching

One version of ELT has gained dominance to the degree that its universal desirability is barely challenged. It has come to be known as 'communicative language teaching' (CLT) and is based on the premise that the goal of language teaching is communication with native speakers in natural, everyday environments. There are a number of problems with this assumption. The one most often addressed is whether a native speaker target is most appropriate for all learners. Less considered is a further dilemma around the priority given to face to face spoken communication which is informal and spontaneous. Possibly because of the reductionist interpretation of Brumfit's original conceptualisation of the notion of 'fluency', at least those aspects drawn from Filmore 1979 (cf. Brumfit 1984:53/54), the goal has seemed to be talk for its own sake. There is little consideration of the quality of talk, either as a tool for learning more about language or as a means for exploring ideas. In other words the cognitive content of the language which learners produce and hear in the language classroom has been inadequately addressed. Admittedly there has been some attention (cf. e.g. Skehan 1992 and Crooks 1989) given to the cognitive demands of tasks, in particular the ways in which different tasks place different processing loads on learners. Thus Crooks 1989 (in Skehan 1992:203) talks of how tasks which involve planning produce more elaborated kinds of talk. However, the interest has tended to stay very much at the level of specific task demands and outcomes rather than move

to any detailed attention to the dominant forms of talk in classroom interaction. Moreover, complexity of language, which recent research has begun to examine as an outcome of tasks, in addition to accuracy and fluency (c.f. e.g. Skehan and Foster 1995) is seen in terms of formal, syntactic features. The admittedly difficult question of what might constitute cognitive richness of talk, as apart from formal complexity, has not been generally addressed.

In the case of studies of classroom interaction, the focus has tended to be (cf. for example Van Lier 1988) on the manner in which talk is exchanged or turns are taken with relatively little concern with the kinds of speech acts produced by learners. In particular there has been little emphasis on constative speech where the focus is on the articulation and defence of ideas; in general, certainly as evidenced in coursebook material, the focus has been on interpersonally oriented language. In Cummins' terms (for example 1979) the emphasis has been upon BICS or 'basic interpersonal skills', rather than CALP, - 'cognitive, academic language proficiency'. Indeed Stern (1983: 352) acknowledges and supports the development of BICS as a major goal of communicative language teaching, leaving aside the issue as to whether the development of CALP is not a more legitimate goal in educational settings.

Cummins' distinction is a pertinent one as he coined it in the context of his observation that second language learners may acquire a surface fluency in the language, without however being able to perform at an academic level. Because Cummins was talking about learners who need to learn through the medium of English, his work has not been generally applied to foreign language learners, who, unless they are in ESP/EAP settings, it is assumed, are not interested in furthering educational and academic abilities through the medium of English. This has led, I would argue, to an interpretation of the educational needs of many foreign language learners which is typified in classroom practice that focuses on exchanges of talk about essentially trivial matters. The stress is on informal interaction, enjoyment and functional communicative competence. The place of other forms of talk which are more elaborated - for example as extended arguments - is barely considered.

The view taken in this work is that it is not sufficient to simply convey some message effectively and appropriately in the foreign language. A critical pedagogy is

concerned with the quality of cognitive/critical content. One implication of this position is that one does not see proficiency in language as distinct from the cognitive (as well as interpersonal) functions it needs to serve. Thus content areas selected for the General English Language classroom may need to move beyond leisure, sport and hobbies, or rather the typically trivial treatment of these, to provide opportunities for engaged, extended interaction and to see language itself as an object of enquiry and critique.

3.8 Critical ELT Teaching

If it is agreed, as argued above, that communicatively oriented ELT teaching is frequently interpreted in reductionist ways, what alternatives might be proposed? Here I shall argue that we might identify two strands. They derive from very different traditions but both of them have a contribution to make to practical pedagogy: the work of the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire and the work of the Genre school in Australia.

3.8.1 Freirean Approaches:

The work of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire resonates with the account of critical pedagogy presented here. First Freire has a view of knowledge which sees it as not static but 'continually created and re-created as people reflect and act on the world..knowledge is produced by us collectively searching and trying to make sense of our world' (Shor: 1987: 182). Thus Freire emphasises the collectivity of knowledge rather than individual ownership, a prevailing metaphor in progressivist discourse. The literacy programmes, described, for example, in Freire 1972b, which he and his co-workers established among peasants in Brazil in the nineteen sixties also had a clear emancipatory objective. Built around the notion of key or generative words which encoded politically and socially significant events, objects or phenomena in the lives of the poor there was an agenda for social change. Literacy was a key to empowerment, in the sense that knowing how things are named and gaining some critical distance from them as objects to be talked - and written - about gave people greater understanding of and control over the circumstances of their daily lives.

This is likely to mean, I would add, not just challenge to hegemony but the questioning of one's own cultural practices. Some accounts of critical pedagogy, which take inspiration in part from Freire's work, take a celebratory rather than a critically analytic stance. In particular, there is a reluctance to make value judgements which may be seen to be prejudicial to disadvantaged groups even though, as Giroux (1987:5) notes, the culture that students bring with them (he is talking of working class students but much the same point could be made regarding other identities) may be in 'dire need of critical analysis and interrogation' Denied the opportunity for such reflection on their immediate circumstances, minority or marginalised cultural groups may be exoticised, trivialised and ultimately patronised.

Freire's pedagogy has been adapted in materials for second language learners which influenced the practical classroom study on which this work is based. These therefore merit a brief introduction here. As expounded in Auerbach and Wallerstein (1987), a text - broadly considered as verbal, spoken or written graphic or visual - is seen as a code in the sense that it encodes issues which pose problems for a particular community of learners but which are also likely to have a wider sociocultural resonance. As Auerbach and Wallerstein (op cit:vii) put it: 'Freire argues that it is only when the education of subordinated peoples directly addresses issues of power and the learners' role in the social order that it can cease to be domesticating....rather than solving problems for learners, the teacher poses problems and engages students in dialogue and critical reflection (a process that Freire calls conscientization)'

Literature is frequently used in this way in the classroom and educational practitioners have made various proposals for discussion formats around texts, which take the collaborative and cognitive perspective espoused here (e.g. Waggoner et al 1995). Generally however, the discussion remains at the level of views about the issue itself and the dilemmas it poses rather than the discourses used to present the topic or issue. The kind of methodology presented in this thesis, and described fully in chapter five, - centred around critical language awareness,- is concerned not just with issue-based discussion of texts but with the language used to talk about those issues, the discourses which are drawn upon.

3.8.2 The Genre Movement

A concern with language implies a need to offer some linguistic tools to talk about language at different levels of specificity, some kind of metalinguistic framework. An educational movement which has given prominence to this goal is the genre movement in Australia. This originated as a counter movement to progressivism, especially as espoused by highly non-interventionist educational programmes in the United States where emphasis was given to minimally directed, experiential learning exemplified, for instance, in process writing approaches (e.g. Graves 1983). As argued for by Martin (1988) for instance, the genre movement counsels a high degree of both teacher intervention and explicitness, particularly the need to be explicit about features of texts which exert influence within schooling and society at large; texts which are representative of what Martin and others (cf. for example Luke 1996) have called the 'genres of power'.

As Luke (op cit: 332) claims: 'Historically the move towards genre has been valuable. It has tabled the issue of explicit access'. However one dilemma of opting for explicitness relates to what might constitute a feasible metalanguage pedagogically speaking. There is always a danger that the sets of terms proposed by a methodology are too cumbersome or obscure to do the job required of them; that rather than illuminating aspects of texts for learners, they become merely another set of terms to learn for reproduction as knowledge to be displayed to the teacher. This issue is discussed in chapter five of this thesis, in relation to the choice of a metalinguistic framework for the Critical Reading class which I taught .

A further difficulty with the view that one can explicitly teach features of the genres of power, with the purpose of thereby empowering learners through schooling and in their daily lives, is that it opts for a transmission view of power rather than a relational one. In other words it may be naive to assume that power can be simply handed to learners via a set of skills or procedures. As noted in chapter one, power is relational and dynamic; as Andersen puts it (1988:23) individuals do not so much have power as 'circulate between its threads'; moreover larger social structures may play a gate-keeping role in denying access to social goods of certain social groups, whatever

particular kinds of abilities or knowledge they display. Members of disadvantaged groups have long been aware of this.

Nonetheless, the genre theorists usefully pointed the way to the need for educators to make features of texts and learning processes more transparent. As Lankshear puts it (1997: 75) 'to teach well...includes rendering the implicit explicit and the abstract concrete'. Links can be made too between some of the key principles of the genre movement and recent developments in second language acquisition which propose greater emphasis on intervention and explicitness than did earlier ELT methods and approaches which positively favoured lack of explicitness, as suggested by some of the terms used to describe them, such as 'the Natural Approach'. (cf. Krashen and Terrell 1983)

I would also wish to argue the case for explicitness in respect of the students' classroom contributions, and in doing so to draw on the work of Bernstein (e.g. 1973, 1990) on elaborated code, which Bernstein claims is best seen not as a variety, style or register, but as a principle which is operated on in particular contexts of use, most obviously educational ones. Bernstein quotes a piece of research by Holland (1981 in Bernstein 1996: 33/34) to show how middle class children show a mastery of this principle at a young age: asked to group familiar items of food, they use some kind of classificatory system, e.g. 'they're vegetables' or 'they come from the sea'; the working class children grouped the food items in experiential ways, e.g. we have X for breakfast, my mother makes Y. Bernstein offers this and similar kinds of research studies to show that firstly there is greater continuity between home and school for middle- class children ; secondly to argue that schooling necessarily involves the need to move beyond the affective, the specific and the personal to draw on more widely recognised ways of organising and talking about knowledge.

For the young adults at the centre of this study, now in higher education, this was a principle readily understood; the need, that is, make their verbal contributions accessible and coherent in a public setting; the need to make explicit their reasons for points of view and offer generalisations on states of affairs and critical judgements, supported by textual evidence. Moving beyond the affective and personal - the territory of much typical talk in the ELT classroom - to the cognitive and critical is

not to deny a role for the expression of personal experience - on the contrary - but personal narratives are adduced to support larger generalisations, demanding the use of different kinds of language to everyday, interpersonally oriented speech. At the same time, as argued in Wallace 1992a:50, and earlier in this chapter in 3.2, we make better sense of personal experience through an understanding of our location within the social and public sphere.

In short, the interest is in talk for learning; testing the limits, especially for L2 learners, of what they can do with their language. As Clegg (1992:17) puts it, this involves students 'trying to get a foothold in new cognitive territory.' It may be characterised by certain linguistic features, such as hesitations. Thus, fluency and lack of hesitation, generally valued aspects of learner oral production, may not be a good indicator of the exploratory nature of good learning talk. As Clegg (1992:16) says 'it (that is, talk for learning) manifests an underlying stance of uncertainty or tentativeness'. Provision can, however, be made through, for example, opportunities to sum up at the end of group work for more final, less tentative formulations. This incidentally suggests links with the work of Crooks (op cit) , who was able to show that planning time offered opportunities for eventually more fully structured - one might say elaborated - responses. It means also making the links ultimately with writing. The principles underlying elaborated code are similar to those which we operate in certain kinds of formal writing. Indeed Wells (1991) uses the term *literate talk*, to describe this use of language for learning, as Clegg (op cit) notes.

In all of this there are links, as noted earlier with CALP. Cummins (e.g. 1979) notes the links between CALP and literacy. In other words, the kind of talk which it is the aim of a critical pedagogy to promote will be cognitively rich and complex.

In short, my concern is with the wider educational development of foreign language learners as much as with their advancement in language proficiency. Indeed I would wish to argue that the two are linked in ways that CLT approaches have not adequately addressed.

3.9 Teaching as Ideology

It is not just the teaching content - the syllabus or materials we draw on - which necessarily conveys cultural and ideological assumptions, but the teaching approach; that is what views of relative power between, for instance, teachers and learners, underlie the more overt cultural behaviour in the classroom? As Littlejohn (1997:181) notes 'one of the most interesting and revealing areas of debate in the literature on classroom pedagogy has been the focus on the relationship between classroom practice and ideological encoding, that is, the way in which classroom practice may carry or reflect a particular ideology'.

The pedagogic assumptions which underpinned this study,- as acknowledged to myself as the class teacher - were a preference for some of the principles of the Genre Approach over the Whole Language Movement. Thus, the study was based on the importance of explicitness and structured access to what were judged to be key principles and terminology.

However, more at issue than the explicit goals which I as the teacher articulated to myself, if not always so fully to the students, are the underlying ideological assumptions, those which operate below the level of consciousness. The issue of consciousness, introduced in chapter one, is central to discussion of ideology and therefore repays further discussion here, if we wish to address the question of how conscious or aware it is possible to be as teachers of the ideological underpinning of our classroom practice.

We can see ideology either as explicit sets of beliefs embodied in educational practice - though, because of the near universal negative connotations of the term 'ideology' in everyday discourse, the term ideology is usually replaced by 'ethos' or 'beliefs' - even 'culture' (e.g. school culture) ; secondly, as discussed at greater length in chapter one, we can talk - more significantly - about implicit assumptions, belief systems and, in particular, power relations. Also we can think of the operation of ideology at the level of the curriculum, that is at societal/institutional level (c.f. e.g. the British National Curriculum) and the level of syllabus or classroom practice. Ideological assumptions operating at the first level will inevitably impact on the second level.

In keeping with the need in principle for transparency of goals and motives, a fundamental principle of critical pedagogy, exemplified in this thesis via a critical reading class, is to be explicit, not just at the micro metalinguistic level but to be as explicit as possible about what one is doing and why; a critical meta level must accompany the micro level of text analysis. Both teachers and learners need to be aware that underpinning the particular way of doing things in the class, some of which may be seen as necessary conventions, are other possible ways. It involves looking at the familiar in new ways, from different perspectives; for teachers, being able to reflect on and prepared to critique their own practice; for students being aware 'not just of what kind of knowledge is being constructed but of the processes that produced the knowledge' (Young 1992: 13). Of course, this raises the whole question of how far we can stand back not only from our own familiar readings of texts but our practices as teachers and learners. There are certain methodologies and research tools that can facilitate this meta level of awareness. These are discussed in chapter four.

Certainly critical pedagogy has no premium on awareness raising. Achieving some distance from one's own practice and discourse is merely a first step. Nonetheless it is an essential one, and marks it out from orthodox unanalysed practice. In general there is less onus on all of us to justify established practice, largely because it carries the authority of tradition and the approval of elite groups. Conventional methodologies tend to go unchallenged or are seen merely as 'the way we do things round here.'

All of this discussion assumes that ideology is in fact embedded in texts and practices, as argued earlier in chapter one. The position argued in this thesis is not to take the ideology as pragmatism view which means that you read off an interpretation from a set of textual features within situational contexts which are unique and one-off. It presupposes that we necessarily respond to texts within contexts which are intertextually linked. It is not possible, for instance, to argue categorically that : this is a racist text, or that is racist teaching without considering the whole set of circumstances which must include the expressed intentions of authors and actors - though not privilege them exclusively. However the view argued in this thesis is that it is feasible and indeed desirable to make informed, argued through, though not

necessarily definitive generalisations which are not simply matters of factual truth but judgements of value. Critics of postmodernism (c.f., for example Bloom 1987 and Hoggart 1995) have noted not merely a reluctance in contemporary society to make judgements about **truth**, but judgements about **value**. As Brumfit (1995: 31) observes, the status of definitive forms of knowledge itself becomes open to question: 'public discussion reflects an increasing disbelief in any privileged state of objectivity in knowledge. It is clear that many people would regard privileged knowledge essentially as a manifestation of a power struggle within society'

Brumfit wishes to reclaim a role for forms of knowledge and judgements which override the particular and local. This is a view which I share. That such judgements will necessarily be exercised within different cultural milieus does not invalidate them. It means that we need to be aware of the operation of contextual constraints at a number of levels. Behaviour both within classrooms and beyond is embedded in certain sociocultural contexts and can only be interpreted within them. Kramsch, (1993:209) for example, gives the example of the different way in which 'open doors' in university departments may be interpreted in Germany and the United States; in the former closing doors is a legitimate exercise of privacy, while in the latter it might be seen as signalling exclusion.

3.10 Levels of Context

What Kramsch's example of the closed doors suggests is that specific kinds of behaviour in specific contexts need to be linked to institutional contexts (cf. Fairlough 1989) related to the norms which operate in social institutions such as schools and universities. In turn institutional norms can be linked to values and practices in the wider society. Thus, the curriculum, which institutionalises wider norms about educational goals and values within any society, inevitably frames the context for syllabus and the interpretation teachers at classroom level will make of any proposed pedagogy, including critical pedagogy.

How is the over-arching ideological climate reflected in classroom practice? Very often it is reactive. Barros Abbud (1995) interpreted the extreme laissez faire, hands off, non- interventionist nature of the Brazilian classrooms she observed as a

reaction to years of military dictatorship. Or it may be a post-colonial legacy of deference from the periphery to the centre (c.f. Phillipson 1992). In other words: this is how the British experts say we must do things.

In short, ideologies are embedded within the classroom culture and shape various classroom genres, such as group work or one-to-one teaching. For students unfamiliar with the genres typical of British classrooms, there may be what Eggins (1994:35) calls 'genre shock', either because the genre itself is culturally unfamiliar or because its mode of realisation is. That is, there will be cultural variability regarding what options are available. What are the rules of speaking? Who can initiate? Is disagreement permitted and, if so, how is it articulated?

In other words, the cultural/ideological context defines the kind and range of genres and their boundaries which typify any situation. What is the allowable range of events which can be seen in a culturally recognisable way as being within the classroom or lesson genre (rather than for instance, an informal chat?). This range of options is realised at classroom level in the specific register of any one class, that is the field, tenor and mode of the particular occasion. As noted in chapter one, Halliday uses these terms to offer an account of the parameters of any context of situation within which a text, spoken or written, unfolds. Just as these terms are used to contextualise the texts introduced in the reading course, as a pedagogic tool, (c.f. chapter 5), they can also be used to characterise the classroom setting itself.

Halliday (1985:12) describes the macrofunctions which constitute the context of situation as follows:

1. THE FIELD OF DISCOURSE refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?

2. THE TENOR OF DISCOURSE refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another,

both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?

3. THE MODE OF DISCOURSE refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository didactic and the like'

In other words there are in classrooms already laid down, though usually tacit, rules about what will go on, what the role relationships will be and possible channels of communication influenced by wider norms at institutional and wider societal level.

3.11 Conclusion

I shall conclude this chapter by raising some questions around the classroom genre using the Hallidayan categories, of FIELD, TENOR and MODE, beginning with MODE on the grounds that the overall structure and function of lessons determines what kinds of semantic content and interpersonal relations are allowable.

I begin with MODE as a way of framing the overall structure and function of a lesson, because the structures and staging of the lesson determine to a degree the kinds of contributions that can be made, and therefore affect the TENOR and FIELD which I turn to subsequently.

MODE: How is classroom talk structured? How does not just the organisation of talk but sets of activities within the classroom relate to the kinds of roles which learners perceive to be available to them and the kind of contributions which are permissible?. Work on classroom discourse over many years, has concerned itself with the identification of structural regularities and typical features in stretches of interaction. In particular, attention has been paid to a basic pattern of teacher/pupil interaction, first characterised by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) as: IRF (initiation, response,

feedback). One aim of this study is to investigate the extent to which this pattern is inevitable in a class which aimed to offer initiating roles for learners as well as the teacher. Then one needs to consider how the specific exchange structure is located in the broader classroom activity. What are the larger structures within which interactions are framed?. Is there a format? Do teachers inevitably conform to structures sanctified by practice and endorsed by the larger societal structures noted earlier?. Is there space for learners not just to take the initiative but to reshape the genre?

FIELD: Who decides the content? In the case of the class at the centre of this study, there was no prescribed curriculum, no set book. The textual material, which was introduced by both teacher and students, was drawn from a range of everyday contexts, and not in itself of an academic or scholarly nature. Such texts - sometimes called 'community texts' (c.f. Luke, O'Brien and Comber 1994:139) are not texts usually considered appropriate for classroom use. What credibility do they have, as compared to valued or canonised texts, such as literary texts?. In general, the questions around field relate to whether the different nature of the texts and accompanying tasks constitute different kinds of content which in turn generates different kinds of classroom interaction. In other words field affects tenor.

TENOR - Tenor also affects field. There is a symbiotic relationship. As Clegg (1992:11) notes: 'the social participant structure - that is the interpersonal relationships - is the motor of what can be achieved cognitively'. A key question moreover, relates to the inevitably unequal roles of teacher and pupils. Classroom interaction is not conversation among equals. Firstly the whole event is organised by the teacher; even in the case of peer group work she is likely to intervene to scaffold or reformulate student contributions and overall she is in control of rights to talk. Levinson (1979) even goes so far as to say that a classroom lesson infringes Grice's cooperative principle. For instance questions are not asked in order to know answers. In this sense, classrooms are arguably like court-rooms. The question then arises as to what extent we can or should, as teachers, aim to mitigate the effects of this essentially

unequal encounter. There is clearly a dilemma if we wish to adopt the Habermasian principle of the construction of knowledge. For his work is based on the principle of equality of contributions, and, as Young notes (1992:37), in classrooms it is likely that 'some members of the community of inquiry will be assenting to claims on a basis other than belief that the arguments supporting them are good ones'. Put simply, in classroom contexts, what dissenting rights are available for students?. Empirically, this might be observable in the classroom by noting occasions of consensus or disagreement and, particularly how the latter are resolved. In chapter seven, an analysis will be offered of some key features of the sequential flow of classroom discourse, in the case of the particular class on which this work is centred.

First, in chapter four, I shall offer an account of the research methodology which informed the setting up of the empirical study and the data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FOR THE CLASSROOM STUDY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter links the preceding chapters which describe the conceptual part of the thesis with the account of a classroom study, described in subsequent chapters. The classroom study aims to illustrate the way in which some of these principles come into play in a specific setting. I will begin by discussing the research ethos which underpinned the classroom study, then move on to develop, in increasingly specific ways, discussion about the nature of the enquiry and how the research might best be described in terms of the conventional categories drawn on to present empirical studies, especially classroom based ones. The chapter concludes with an account of the specific procedures and tools adopted, why they were adopted and how they mesh with the larger design of the enquiry.

4.2 The Research Ethos

Issues around the research ethos relate to questions such as: how far should the research aim for what has been called (cf. e.g. Hammersley 1996b;11) 'value neutrality' which can be taken to signify a stance on the researcher's part which aims to pursue truth and build knowledge for its own sake. The researcher is open-minded about what might be desirable outcomes of the research, has, in short, no axe to grind. Opposed in principle to this position is research which goes under the name of advocacy or partisan research, which takes a clearly committed position. (cf. Cameron et al 1992). The commitment might be articulated in terms of serving very specific needs of a community or group; the researcher makes no claims to disinterestedness. An example of a famous paper in Sociolinguistics might be seen as an example of advocacy research or enquiry: that by Labov (1969) on the 'Logic of Non- Standard English', in which he argues the case of the expressiveness and logical power of Black Vernacular English typically spoken in ghetto areas of the United States. In spite of subsequent claims by Bernstein (e.g. 1996: 152-6) that Labov's paper not only misrepresented Bernstein's position but was also seriously patronising towards the

groups it aspired to support, it is admired by many as a powerful polemic in defence of a particular group of people. Labov quite definitely had an axe to grind and one could argue that, albeit with admirable motives, his purpose, seen in the wider social context of educational and social debate in the nineteen sixties, was largely strategic.

A rather different case, though ultimately the goals will be similar, is where the researcher is not an advocate for a particular social group but nonetheless has a specific political and ideological agenda to pursue. The researcher may offer initially an explicit statement about the premises which have informed discussion and the design and interpretation of any empirical or illustrative material. Thus Fairclough (1989) says that he is a committed socialist then adds:

This does not, I hope, mean that I am writing political propaganda. The scientific investigation of social matters is perfectly compatible with committed and 'opinionated' investigators (there are no others !) and being committed does not excuse you from arguing rationally or producing evidence for your statements' (Fairclough 1989:5)

Such a statement offers the reader of the work an orientating position from which to judge subsequent description and analysis. 'I am coming clean' Fairclough seems to be saying.

One might imagine the following polarised responses to Fairclough's argument:

1. It is absolutely necessary for a researcher to be detached - to be neutral.
2. Fairclough's position is a feasible and proper one: that is one by which research or enquiry is geared explicitly to serve political commitments or causes.

I would wish to dispense with the first position on the basis that we all approach a research question or project prejudicially. It is simply not possible to claim neutrality. Even if detachment were desirable, it is unachievable. Our political inclinations, whether made explicit to ourselves and others or not, inform any judgement we might make.

However, the second position carries difficulties also. Where research is avowedly partisan, explicitly motivated by a particular world view; where there is, additionally, a sense of moral imperative, even missionary zeal, that it **should** be so motivated, we may be confronted with the relativist dilemma that the vision of a better world towards which one's own research is geared is perceived as tyrannical by those with differing ideologies.

A third, middle way view might acknowledge that researchers not only can but inevitably will have political views, these views will a) motivate what we decide to research in the first place, b) inform the particular line of argument we pursue through the whole work, the thinkers and scholars we draw most heavily on but should not c) determine its conclusions.

In a sense, Fairclough's point about the need to argue rationally aims to provide such a rider. However it should be acknowledged that the maintenance of detachment regarding the outcome of investigation is more difficult when accompanied by a very strong predisposition towards particular values and views of the world. There is, that is, a significant difference between research which merely acknowledges the impossibility of impartiality and that which actively wishes to promote - is indeed driven by - a particular philosophy or view of the world. Thus it may be the case that, in the course of my own study, the kind of CLA pedagogy I began by espousing becomes seriously questionable - even damaging to the learners involved- under closer investigation. When one has started from a strongly committed position it may be relatively difficult to confront unpalatable findings.

However ethical dilemmas arise long before we reach the point of summarising the research as a whole. At the stage, under b) above, of reviewing the literature, existing predispositions will already be in play in the making of decisions as to which sources to pursue, even in the presence of relatively tight research questions. In the case of this study, I shifted away from the Foucauldian views I had favoured initially towards some of the philosophical thinking which is broadly encompassed within Critical Theory for reasons which I offer below.

4.2.1 Critical Theory

As becomes apparent in the course of earlier chapters, my thesis has been influenced by some of the key work in critical theory, most notably the work of Habermas - in particular his notion of a 'universal pragmatics' - and his commentators such as Thomas McCarthy, a considerable social philosopher in his own right. My aim in this section is to present an account of the research ethos which is consistent with the view of knowledge and learning set out in chapter three. While this work will not wish to make any transcendental claims about knowledge and learning it does, nonetheless, wish to engage in issues of generalisability and universality, to move beyond the local and particular. By this I mean, not that the empirical study itself is readily replicable, that its findings could be readily applied to different settings, but that on a higher plane of generality it raises issues which are applicable to all kinds of educational endeavour. This research goal resonates with Brumfit's plea (1995:37) for research which crosses the boundaries of different language teaching traditions and has wider educational implications.

Much recent work in literacy studies, especially the anthropologically influenced work, has carefully eschewed claims to universality of literacy practices and processes. In its goal of wishing to legitimise diverse practices, to emphasise their particularity and context dependence, - to take, in short, a contingency view of rationality and knowledge- there has been a reluctance to point to wider implications. This tends to typify the social constructionist views of Barton (e.g. 1994) and Street (e.g. 1995). The dilemma then is however - for educationists especially - how far one can learn from diverse experiences to derive implications for educational practice beyond the particular and local; to build knowledge which transcends specific cultural and geographical location. This seems essential in a global and increasingly mobile world. As Young (1992: 3) puts it: 'In our present global problem of resource limitation and world pollution, we must, for the first time, establish this common ground between different cultures. This is universalization'. Consequently, and regardless of how convincingly it is achieved, the research orientation in this work aims to go beyond the concerns of local cultural studies to make the links between the particular and the universal. While it has become fashionable to challenge the

feasibility of 'grand narratives' (cf. for example, Barnett 1997) there is a strong case, as McCarthy, (1994:19) argues, of reinstating some sense of the wider picture: 'Critical theorists can develop and deploy practically interested, theoretically informed general accounts in a fallibilistic and open manner, that is without claiming closure. The point is to view big pictures and grand narratives as ongoing accomplishments'

It is important to emphasise, as noted in chapter three, that this does not mean abandoning an interest in context; on the contrary, it involves seeing contexts and identities as complex and multilayered. It means offering a richer understanding of context and culture so that contexts are seen as shifting and overlapping as is cultural identity. My view is that an over-localised, situationalised view of learning and behaviour risks stereotyping and even exoticising or romanticising the practices of social groups.

Linked to the interest in the wider perspective, is the belief that it is possible to move outside one's own social and cultural milieu to achieve some critical distance. One is not so irretrievably socially constructed, acted upon and through rather than acting, as to make such detachment impossible. Indeed, as argued in Wallace 1992a, and elsewhere in this thesis, a clearer understanding of our location within the social positively enhances a sense of agency, identity and autonomy. However it has to be worked at. As with critical language study and critical pedagogy so with critically oriented approaches to research: all are premised on the feasibility of gaining a measure of critical distance on the material surveyed. This means taking a view of 'critical' which both acknowledges as inevitable a slanted perspective on the part of all participants in the research process, but which aims continually to place some distance between these ideological predispositions and the objects of enquiry. This is essential if one is to confront unpalatable findings, to 'think the unthinkable'.

In summary, it should be said the position argued here is not one I clearly articulated to myself at the outset of the study. Some of the decisions and judgements were consciously made before I began, particularly practical ones, related to the need for triangulation of the study and the actual content of the class. More covert - and therefore more valuable insights - are reached retrospectively. Moreover, the process of doing this particular work and reflecting on the actual classroom material, such as

the tapes of the classroom interaction and other data which emerged from the lessons, has led me to a shift in position to the extent that my starting point for any future study would be different from the one I took in the case of the particular study described here.

4.3 The Nature of the Enquiry

In this section I shall offer an account of approaches to the nature of enquiry which best describe the classroom study.

Firstly it was qualitative and interpretative; there was no statistical analysis. The interest was in examining learning processes rather than evaluating products arising from the class, in the form of test results, for instance. However, because this was a class which was part of students' programmes of study, outcomes were clearly of importance, both to learners and myself as the teacher. In short, the students expected to learn something!

Nonetheless, although I certainly was interested in the effectiveness of various ways of teaching and learning, they can only be judged fairly tentatively and impressionistically. Moreover, I am not presenting my data as a model of good practice; rather hoping to discover more about what good practice might look like in the course of subjecting my classroom data to scrutiny. As noted at the start of the thesis, the study is exploratory rather than explanatory; concerned with offering insights rather than definitive proposals.

Mouly (1978 in Cohen and Manion 1985:4) talks of an inductive/deductive relationship which consists of 'a back and forth movement in which the investigator first operates inductively from observations to hypotheses and then deductively from these hypotheses to their implications in order to check their validity from the standpoint of their compatibility with accepted knowledge'. This description both fits but also departs from the process of this investigation in the following ways: observation and experience were to a large degree the motor of the research, in the sense that the premises which the study embodies grew out of many years of teaching experience to adults in general and of teaching courses which take a CLA approach in particular. There was certainly a back and forth movement between the experiential

base of the study and my initiation into 'accepted' forms of knowledge. However the premises which guided the study, especially in its early stages, took the form of a fairly vague, not fully analysed problematising of issues which hardly warrants the term 'hypothesis.' It might be more apt to talk in the terms used by Malinowski (1922: 8-9) of 'foreshadowed problems.' As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:29) note, well-developed theories from which hypotheses might be derived are rare in sociology and anthropology (and, I would add, in classroom based language teaching research). The 'back and forth movement' in the case of this study involves a clearer focusing of problems or questions rather than the confirmation of initial hypotheses. Indeed, arguably, this is a major goal of teacher research, namely that in scrutinising classroom data in ways that day to day we seldom would, we revisit and rethink initial taken -for -granted opinions , even in some cases abandon them altogether. This process involves the kind of 'noticing' I talked about in chapter three , where the everyday and the obvious are seen with fresh eyes. Thus it is not so much that hypotheses are checked against others to see how they stand up to received knowledge but that radical adjustment or total abandonment of initial opinions and perceptions remains always on the agenda. As Malinowski (op cit) puts it: 'if a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove certain hypotheses, if he is incapable of changing his views constantly and casting them off ungrudgingly under the pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless'

This is consistent with a view of research as theory building rather than theory confirming, so that stronger theories develop out of close examination of practice. Classroom based research in principle offers the possibility of bringing together the disparate pieces of knowledge and experience into what Mouly (op cit) calls a 'meaningful and manageable whole'. It is both an attempt to make sense of what we already intuitively know or 'half know' but also to shift and change boundaries. The degree of conviction which it carries depends on the richness of the data and the exhaustiveness of the analysis. This begs the question of course as to how we make judgements as to rich versus relatively impoverished data and how we come to conclusions about the kind of interpretative weight which the data will bear.

4.4 Classroom Research

The empirical investigation comes into the large category of classroom research, which, as Allwright and Bailey (1991) for instance note, can cover a wide range of studies from observational ones, generally designed for teacher training purposes to those more concerned to explore teaching and learning processes interactively, as was the case with the study described here.

The course was designed as an optional module to be offered to foreign language undergraduate students in their first year of study abroad, as well as to general language students at pre- proficiency level. Included in the original group of fourteen (not all the students were able to follow the 15 week course throughout) were what we might call 'participant observers', students following a Master's degree in Teacher Education who wished to observe the classroom methodology but who also were active members of the group. One of these, Monica Hermerschmidt, had a special role in that she not only attended regularly throughout the whole course but she undertook to meet me after the class on a number of occasions to talk through her observations of my behaviour as the teacher and to offer her perceptions of the students' responses as she worked alongside them in class. These informal discussions were tape recorded.

There are a number of orientations to classroom research under the broad umbrella of qualitative/interpretative research such as, for example, (cf. Cohen and Manion 1985) action research or ethnographic research, which relate to guiding principles of the research ethos and design. These may be mapped on to an equally wide range of approaches which relate to more micro-level choices of design such as the manner of data collection and sampling and the chosen tools of analysis; in this latter case, terms such as 'longitudinal', 'episodic' or 'case study' may be used. My study drew on elements of all of these orientations and approaches but also was distinctive in ways I describe briefly below.

4.4.1 Features of the Research Study:

A defining feature of action research, for instance, is that it is generally seen as identifying a particular problem related to educational policy or practice and then

taking steps to remedy the perceived problem through some kind of intervention. Cohen and Manion (1985: 223) describe it as 'essentially an on the spot procedure designed to deal with a concrete problem located in an immediate situation'. However the classroom research which I undertook was not motivated by the need to solve a specific perceived problem with current educational provision. It did not look at the effects of intervention. On the other hand, its goals coincided with some accounts of action research (e.g. Nunan 1992) in that it was carried out by the classroom teacher and was collaborative to the extent that the study required the active cooperation of students and the student/observers. Moreover there was a clear interest in improving practice in the wider sense; more specifically there was a concern with innovation and change. It was made clear to the students that the course had distinctive aims which made it atypical of the foreign language class.

Also, although my study drew on some of the principles which have been said to characterise ethnographic research (e.g. in Hammersley and Atkinson 1983) it similarly departed from them in major ways. Thus, the notion of participant observer is one that is familiar in ethnographic and anthropological research (Hammersley and Atkinson (op cit) claim that ethnography and participant observation are cognate terms) and this notion was part of my research design. However, the more typical situation by which the main classroom researcher takes some kind of participant role by, for example, observing unobtrusively or - as a semi-insider - taking part in some of the classroom activities, was reversed in this case: I, as the main researcher, was also the teacher of the class with my key participant observer playing a full role in the class as one of the students. However, although Monica took part in all the activities during the classes (although, along with the other Masters' students, she did not do the diary assignments) she was not a 'complete participant' (c.f Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:93) in that her identity as a semi-insider - or outsider - , who was advising me with my teaching and research, was not concealed to the rest of the group. Nonetheless, she was able to act as 'a spy', reporting back to me aspects of group work in which she took part and which were not readily observable by me. She was also 'a critical friend' as an observer and commentator on my own teaching.

Differences to classic ethnographic research however were apparent in my study. Most obviously I embarked on the study with goals to achieve and questions to answer (even if, as noted above, these shifted in the course of the study). This is necessarily the case, one might argue, in classroom settings where to a lesser or greater degree there are agendas and structures, even in the absence of tight syllabus or curriculum constraints. Such factors are in marked contrast to everyday, naturalistic settings which are more typically observed by ethnographers where the emphasis is on participation in everyday life for extended periods of time.

In terms of specific ways of examining the data, I drew on both episodic and case study principles: I identified stretches of classroom discourse which were bounded, -readily identifiably generically from what preceded and followed in the lesson as a whole - in order to give more focused and in-depth attention to interactional features of the classroom discourse. Following Lemke (1990) I called these predictable stretches of classroom discourse 'episodes'. The case study element to the classroom investigation is apparent in the selection of two students as a specific focus of attention in chapter eight of this thesis. This looks at sources of data which complement the classroom interaction data of chapter seven.

4.5 The Teacher as Researcher

A distinctive feature of the classroom study was that I myself was the teacher of the class. There are relatively few classroom studies in the literature which offer an account of the author's own class. Indeed, as Nunan (1992:103) notes there are relatively few research studies which look at genuine language classrooms at all. Nunan found only 15 out of the 50 studies he investigated. One active researcher/teacher is Cazden (1988) who draws on her own teaching of a primary class, to illustrate the construction of knowledge in classrooms. However the actual analysis of her teaching as recounted in Cazden (op cit) over a period of a year was carried out by her co-researcher, Hugh Mehan. In this case, notwithstanding the role of my main participant/observer Monica, I was both teacher and researcher. There are both advantages and disadvantages of this dual identity which I rehearse briefly below.

Disadvantages are clearly related to objectivity and the fact that you cannot be an observer and a participator at the same time, in the sense that as the class progresses under one's own direction it is difficult to maintain a double identity. However, as is evident in the term itself: 'participant observer', observers are also participators, even when a consciously non-participatory position is selected, for instance when a classroom researcher sits at the back of the classroom and takes no part in the class proceedings. The classroom event is inevitably changed by the presence of a silent observer, however unobtrusive. Moreover, good teachers like good actors are not so involved in the ongoing proceedings as to eschew the role of detached evaluator. Further, the merging of teacher/researcher roles has the advantage that you avoid the invidiousness of criticising a teacher who has invited you as a researcher, of almost inevitably higher status than herself, into your class. It is easier to make evaluative judgements, in some ways, on one's own practice. Finally, when it comes to the retrospective analysis of the data, the researcher role replaces the teacher one. Such close scrutiny of one's own performance is likely to constitute a Face Threatening Act (Goffman 1967), especially when the data appears in a public document such as a book or a thesis; there will certainly be a temptation to censor material which shows the teacher/researcher at a disadvantage. For this reason a co-researcher should ideally be involved in the data analysis. For practical reasons, this was not possible in the case of this research. I was able to take account, as the course progressed, of Monica's input as advisor and critic ongoingly during our regular meetings, as noted above. However the analysis is entirely my own, with the inevitable consequence that detachment is compromised.

4.6 The Data

In total, the data collected consisted of:

1. The classroom material which was used to teach the Critical Reading course, consisting of texts and accompanying tasks.

2. Tapes of fourteen two hour classes of the fifteen week course, constituting one semester's work. All the classes were audiotaped apart from one class, which was not recorded because of the absence of the technician who provided the equipment. I myself was responsible for all the recording. There was no technician present in the classroom.
3. The responses to three questionnaires which were distributed at the start of the course, mid-way through and at the end. All the students completed these.
4. Diaries which the students wrote from week four of the course. The completion of these diaries was patchy; the more committed students managed to produce only a maximum of six entries over the period of the course. However several of these were long, covering two or three pages. The students were left very free to interpret the diary task as they wished.
5. Verbal report data: three students were asked to select a text from a choice of three made available to them and with the tape recorder running to offer a commentary or 'think aloud' as they read, saying whatever came to mind about the language or content of the texts. They were left alone in the room with the tape-recorder for a period of fifteen minutes.
6. Tape recordings of interviews: selected students were interviewed mid-way through the course and three months after the end of the course. These interviews can be described as ethnographic in the sense that I went prepared only with broad questions, relating to key issues which I wanted the interviews to cover. This was especially the case with the final interviews which were considerably longer than the earlier ones - in some cases up to an hour long - and calculated to leave students open to respond in any way they wished. Nonetheless my questions, even though calculated not to overly disrupt the flow of exchanged ideas, were directive in the sense that they were motivated by my initial aims in teaching the course and guided by the comments which had emerged in the students' diaries and questionnaires.

4.6.1 Sampling of the Data

I decided to focus on three classes from near the beginning, around the middle and at the end of the course respectively. Thus the three classes selected for more specific attention were in week 4, week 9 and week 14 of the course. This offered an equal spacing of five weeks between the lessons considered in depth. Within the three lessons focused on I looked first at the teaching material which formed the basis of the lesson, that is the texts selected and the tasks designed ; secondly I considered in each of the three lessons a characteristic episode, which was the feedback segment of the class, where individual students representing their groups were called on to offer their public response to the task. The final data set I considered consisted of the diaries, reading protocols and interview data. Examination of this data forms the basis of chapters: 5 6 7 and 8 as follows:

Chapter 5: The data in terms of the content of the class, that is the syllabus, including its rationale, and exemplars of the textual materials and the tasks which accompanied the materials.

Chapter 6: The rationale for ways of analysing the classroom interaction.

Chapter 7: The data in terms of classroom interaction, consisting of three episodes of teacher/student interaction each lasting approximately fifteen minutes.

Chapter 8: Case studies of two students to include interview data, diaries and verbal reports or 'think alouds' on texts, which I shall refer to as reading protocols. This additional data is drawn on in order to triangulate the study, by offering different perspectives on the evaluation of the course overall, both because different kinds of material is considered and because the students' own voices are brought more clearly into the picture. It allows the students selected to contribute to the findings, to add their impressions to my own.

4.7 Rationale for Collection and Analysis of the Data

A major principle underpinning the manner in which the data was collected was that the procedure should not be prejudicial to the students' learning; rather that the process of data collection should offer continuing opportunities for student development and reflection at the same time as it provided material for the researcher. This applied particularly to the choice of diary keeping as both a research and learning tool; the process of recording observations on the class and their own learning offered ongoing opportunity for continued reflection on the issues raised in class as much as it constituted a record for myself as teacher of what they had gained from the class. In my second identity as researcher, I was able to draw on the diaries in a less evaluative spirit, to attempt to gain more distanced detached views as to how the wider enterprise of critical language awareness was interpreted by selected students.

The overall rationale for the choice of interviewing technique was similarly influenced by the wish that interaction between myself as teacher/researcher and the students selected for follow-up interview should provide a useful continuing learning opportunity for the students. By this I mean, that the ethnographic interviewing I opted for provided opportunities for mutual reflexivity on the course, with opportunities for extended talk, as much as it functioned as specific feedback for me in a dual teacher/researcher role.

The second major principle which motivated both the choice of data and its method of analysis was that the account of the classroom study which I offered should be illuminating rather than aim for exhaustiveness. Thus I selected for closer scrutiny only those features of the data sets which seemed pertinent to the wider goals of the study. In terms of the Hallidayan framework which had partly informed the study, this involved looking at interpersonal and ideational features in, however, highly selective ways. The motivation for the features selected, particularly in the case of the classroom interaction, diary, interview and reading protocol data, are more fully argued through in chapters six, seven and eight. Suffice it to say at this point that, in terms of the wider concerns of this study, key ideational features were selected for examination to the extent that they were judged to be indicative of constative talk. Interpersonal features were selected so as to offer judgements about the extent of

equality in interaction as well as quality of content. Over and above these twin focuses, was the more directly pedagogic concern to establish the extent and kind of growth of particular kinds of critical language awareness. In other words, analysis of the classroom data examined ways in which the teacher-student interaction, in its structure and content, supported the development of quality and equality in classroom talk. This goal is more fully explored in chapter six. However, before examining the manner in which the students handled the classroom material, we need some account of the actual content of the Critical Reading course. The rationale for the course itself is offered in chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE COURSE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will set out the parameters of a specific context of use for practical critical discourse analysis. It will begin by describing some of the attempts that have been made to devise a pedagogy which, under the broad umbrella term of 'critical language awareness', has attempted to apply CDA principles to teaching. Specific reference will then be made to the design for the Critical Reading course which is at the centre of this study.

The group of critical discourse analysts introduced in chapter one offer tools for analysis but no empirical studies of analysis in process, other than those conducted by themselves. The analyses presented (for example, Gough and Talbot 1996, Fairclough 1989 and 1995 and Kress 1989) are introspective, 'arm- chair' critiques whose degree of conviction is, inevitably, largely subjective, however much attention is paid to requirements of number and length of texts studied and exhaustiveness and rigour of analysis (cf. Stubbs 1994). Thus Fairclough and Kress present sample analyses which, while they demonstrate useful model procedures and offer frequently illuminating insights, do not capture the conflicts and tensions and uncertainties which surround socially shared interpretative processes. Kress (1993a:15) admittedly addresses the issue of diverse readings for single texts, but he does not offer up his own analyses for inspection by other interpreters. Clark (1993) goes further and offers actual rival - rather than imagined - readings of a particular text. Nonetheless, little work has been done to date, at least by the mainstream critical analysts, on how interpretations of texts - which as products become new texts - may shift to diverge or converge with rival ones in specific interactions. We need, I propose, to look at actual interpretative settings to establish the extent to which critical discourse analysis might move out of the hands of expert exegesis to become an activity in which social groups can profitably engage, with the potential to empower people both in educational settings and in everyday life.

One obvious but still relatively unexplored setting is the classroom and this and subsequent chapters present an attempt to teach a specific course entitled 'Critical Reading' premised on the principles introduced in the preceding chapters. Problems inevitably emerge when principles developed largely by linguists or social theorists are applied to real-life settings. Key concepts and categories may need to be modified and simplified. The dilemmas and compromises which result from this need will be discussed in this and following chapters. Nonetheless, a clear advantage of drawing on a specific teaching experience is that a class of students offers us a ready made community of social subjects, an interpretative community, who bring different knowledge sources and, especially in the case of adult students, fairly well-formed opinions, as well as cultural and ideological assumptions to bear on their readings of texts. Moreover, they do not constitute a knowledgeable elite, that is they do not form an expert discourse community; nor do they come with an ideological predisposition to look at texts in the ways favoured by critical analysts.

5.2. The Course and Participants

As noted in chapter four, I was the teacher of the course presented here. The course was offered as an optional module (or mini-module) to students doing a one year placement in a British university, Thames Valley University, from another European university. However the course was also open to other students who had intermediate to advanced level of English language. There was no particular placement test however, and students had varying levels of English language proficiency. An initial questionnaire invited them to give their reasons for doing the course.

About half the original group of fourteen were first year university students; three were preparing for the Cambridge Proficiency examination. The students were mainly in their early twenties and came from France, Spain Germany and Japan. There were also four auditors who attended the course. These were teachers following an M.A. in English Language Teaching at TVU and they came from China, Indonesia, Argentina and Germany. However, this group attended sporadically as other commitments permitted. Moreover, several other students had to return home at the

Christmas break and were unable to complete the full semester. As noted in chapter four, one of the teachers, Monica, acted as a participant observer by undertaking to attend every class, to make notes on her observations and to advise and consult with myself regularly on the progress of the course. She was a very experienced teacher from East Berlin who had researched the field of critical discourse analysis and was doing a PhD on classroom interaction; her contribution was seen as very much that of a co-researcher and, indeed, co-teacher, although I took responsibility for lesson preparation.

The course was a 15 week one-semester course and a flyer was prepared to offer to potential students (cf. Appendix One.) It is important to see this particular course in a social and historical context. The course took place in one of the new universities which was developing a particular interest in media studies and encouraged the development of innovative options. It was also the successor to a number of similar courses, all of which shared two basic principles: an interest in everyday community texts as legitimate objects of study and the development of some specific linguistic tools as a means of analysis. The first of this series of courses offered at TVU (then known as the Polytechnic of West London), albeit to a slightly different student group, is described in Wallace 1992b.

Three questions or problems concerning the intake of the course might be raised: firstly, why it was not open to native speakers; secondly whether foreign language learners want such a course as opposed to one which more directly addresses their development in proficiency in a foreign language; thirdly, it could be argued, the situation presented here is atypical for foreign learners, who are far more likely to be developing their English language and literacy skills in their home context.

In answer to the first question, in principle, native speaker students could certainly benefit from such a course. Critical language awareness as presented in this thesis is barely on the agenda in British schools, although as noted below, various initiatives have been attempted. In fact a pilot version of this course included native speakers - though among the participant observer group rather than the main body of the students. It would have been particularly advantageous to have a mixture of native and non-native speaking students, a point which is raised by one of the students,

Virginia, in her follow-up interview (cf chapter eight). In answer to the second point, while the aim of the course was not to develop proficiency in language form as such, one of its outcomes, it will be argued below, was to make students more aware of lexicogrammatical features of English, not just in the written texts they studied but in their own spoken and written language. In terms of objection three, it is undoubtedly true that the course took the shape it did, both in structure and content, because of its base in London and the particular aims and interests of the students who opted to attend. However, one might envisage variants on critical reading courses which would take on board some of the wider principles argued for here: namely that no texts are ideologically neutral, that it is helpful to see texts as arising out of social relationships, in particular relationships based on power, and that texts relate to each other intertextually. Whether students are learning in a secondary school, university or private language school, in the home or target culture, these principles stand, although the particular text selections may be different because arising out of different institutional and wider societal contexts. Additionally, one might usefully take a bilingual approach to reading in a monolingual environment. Indeed such settings might prove particularly congenial for critical reading where comparisons might be made between, for instance, editorials written on international affairs in the home country as compared with, say a British or North American context.

5.3 Other Studies of Critical Language Awareness

Accounts of critical language awareness, to include the wider but closely related interests of critical pedagogy for language teaching, range from generalised description of the philosophy underpinning pedagogic practice (eg. Pennycook 1994b) who, anxious to avoid prescriptivism, offers a heuristic but little by way of specific illustration in terms of syllabus or materials, to specific material which implicitly or explicitly exemplifies CLA. Materials which do not explicitly announce themselves as CLA but encompass many of its key principles are some of those produced under the auspices of the English and Media Centre in London. Examples of titles are: *Making Stories*, *Changing Stories* and *Reading Stories*, (Mellor et al 1984, 1987) all clearly looking at fictional, narrative texts. Janks and her colleagues (1994) have produced

material which takes an explicit critical language awareness position in a series of books produced for South Africa. These books, as the general introduction to the series states: 'deal with the relationship between language and power..the materials attempt to raise awareness of the way language can be used and is used to maintain and to challenge existing forms of power'.

These books represent the first attempt to take a coherent CLA approach across a series of distinct but related non-fiction texts and topics, and involve specific analysis of texts. In addition, Janks (1993) offers a critique of the use of the pilot version of these materials, pointing out how conflicts surrounding identity made the implementation of the materials problematic in multiracial classes in South Africa. In particular the black women students, feeling threatened rather than challenged, through perceived tensions between their identities as both women and black, took an oppositional as opposed to a resistant stance. Opposition was not directed at the inequalities embodied in the texts - as codes in the Freirean sense- but emerged as resentment of the material itself. It is just these kinds of dilemmas which confront teachers committed to what they see as emancipatory pedagogy which have to be critically examined if the whole concept of critical pedagogy is to retain credibility. Some of these dilemmas and contradictions are addressed in chapter seven and eight of this work in the course of scrutinising classroom interactions around texts.

5.4 A Brief History of the Field

A CLA orientation has been evident for some time in materials which have eschewed that particular banner, possibly because they predated much of the influential work of the recent wave of CDA. One example would be the work of Elsa Auerbach and Nina Wallerstein, introduced in chapter three, who devised a Freirean procedure by which students are invited through a series of open questions to problematise the situations presented in the form of visuals, simple narratives or comic strip presentations. The principle underlying this pedagogy is close to Freire's early work on 'culture circles' (cf. Freire 1972b) where an image or key word would act as a trigger or prompt to allow students to reflect on - to gain greater critical distance on - key aspects of their daily lives. This way of seeing texts - one which involves placing

them in a social and cultural context in relation to other texts - is a central part of critical language study, though finer-grained analysis of specific linguistic effects is missing.

A critical language awareness perspective was also evident in the materials produced as part of the Language in the National Curriculum project. This was an inservice teacher education programme which was developed between the years 1989 - 1992 to offer a coherent language education programme for teachers which would link to the successive Kingman and Cox reports, which immediately predated the project and which were commissioned by the Government. Nonetheless the LINC teacher training materials failed to find favour with the Conservative administration of the day and their official publication was banned. There were several likely reasons for the ban though they were never made explicit: firstly, there was a strong emphasis on the social circumstances of language use which, moreover, invited reflection on the circumstances of power which might privilege certain forms of language over others . Secondly, the materials embodied an approach to the teaching of grammar which was unfamiliar - and therefore unwelcome - to the politicians who condemned the material. Carter, one of the key proponents of what he himself calls the New Grammar(1990) describes this grammar as aiming to teach students: ‘not simply to look through language to the content of a message but rather to see through language and be empowered better to understand and explain the ways in which messages are mediated or shaped, very often in the interests of preserving a particular viewpoint or of reinforcing existing ideologies’ (Carter 1990: 108)

At around the same time and concurrent with the emerging work in critical discourse analysis, Stubbs (1990) in a professorial address at the Institute of Education also proposed what he called a New Grammar. Stubbs offered a very specific account of the manner in which a particular text might be subjected to a critical analysis, taking as a key text one of the 'Mandela' texts which, as described more fully later in this chapter, I used in the Critical Reading class (though I was able to provide comparable news texts from other sources for contrastive purposes). Stubbs drew on the Hallidayan grammar inspired account of the early critical analysts such as Trew (1979), wishing to make a claim for the pedagogic potential of such a grammar,

dedicated to uncovering some of the ideological effects embedded within texts. On the occasion of Stubbs' presentation linguists such as Richard Hudson expressed scepticism as to the validity of aspects of the analysis, - misgivings subsequently voiced by Stubbs himself in Stubbs 1994 and 1997. Hudson's critique related largely to difficulties of matching analysis to interpretation, discussed earlier in chapters one and two of this thesis. While these dilemmas warrant continued debate by linguists and social theorists, I would argue that teachers can in the meantime legitimately pursue the potential of such a New Grammar in adaptive ways with the goal of heightening students' awareness of features of texts, especially in the current absence of any coherent model of language instruction in British schools. Such at least appears to be the case from studies such as those conducted by Mitchell et al (1994).

It was not until 1990/91 that the term 'critical language awareness' was coined by Clark et al, (Clark et al 1990/1991) and in 1992 a number of practical proposals appeared in a collection entitled *Critical Language Awareness* (Fairclough ed. 1992b). Some of the papers in this collection offered specific proposals and procedures for the development of CLA in different educational settings. One study by Wallace (1992b), the precursor to that described in the present work, took a genre- based approach in a critical literacy programme for second language students: students were progressively presented with different, socially recognisable types of texts and offered a range of tasks to support closer examination of key linguistic choices. A CLA approach to the teaching of writing rather than reading is offered by Clark (1992) in her work with undergraduate students. And Malischewski (1990) reporting classroom based research conducted in Canada, presents a pedagogy for critical reading drawing on categories similar to those selected in the present study.

5.5 Macro and Micro Levels of CLA: linking the two

Among current and recent exponents of critical language awareness it is possible to identify two strands which take rather different perspectives to what we might understand by 'awareness'. The first looks at language practices - the way language varieties are used in different contexts of use; the second is process oriented, inviting attention to the processes at play in the production and reception of the

meanings embedded within specific texts. Language awareness at the first, more macro level has been the concern of scholars in the fields of anthropology and ethnography. One influential example of this work is Brice Heath (1983) who offers an in-depth analysis of the literacy practices across two communities in the United States. Street (1984), as noted in chapter two, suggests an ideological foundation to literacy practices by proposing that far from being autonomous and universal, literacy practices are tied to specific social and cultural situations and carry varying value and significance. While I have presented a case for commonality as much as difference across cultures in language practices and processes, it is clearly important to challenge, as Street invites us to, a monolithic view of cultural behaviour, in particular when, as was the case with this research, our students come from very diverse cultural backgrounds.

One application of this work for critical language awareness in an educational context is represented by the work of Barro et al (1993) based at Thames Valley University and the University of Durham. In this project first year university and secondary school students respectively were asked to carry out home ethnographies prior to doing similar observations of the foreign cultural setting during a period of study abroad. The aim is to achieve some critical distance on familiar practices in order to better understand the unfamiliar.

This macro level of awareness can be related to Lankshear's first stage in a literacy awareness programme: 'knowing literacy (or literacies) critically, that is having a critical perspective on literacy/literacies generally' (Lankshear 1994:10) The gaining of this wider sociocultural perspective can be seen as preparatory and complementary to critical language analysis study of specific texts, as Lankshear (op cit) himself implies. Indeed a major point I wish to argue is that without a rich understanding of context, we are left with the version of CDA which consists of 'reading off the effects from texts' - often by the lone expert analyst, as argued above.

The need both theoretically and practically therefore is for text-analytic work to be embedded in context understood as layered and complex. One problem with much pedagogy is that one level of awareness is sacrificed to the other, or there is little connection made between the two levels - that is between the attempt to convey

to learners a macro understanding of literacy as social practice and work at the micro level of engaging with specific texts and specific features of texts. The starting point, for instance, of Freire's work was the critical examination of society through the introduction of key words which had a resonance for students on literacy programmes. However, at the micro level of teaching the decoding of specific words, a Freirean pedagogy involves decontextualised work with word building. This exploits the regularly patterned syllabic structure of languages such as Portuguese and Spanish (although clearly presents difficulties as a methodology in the case of languages with a different morphophonemic structure like English). One consequence of a two-tiered approach, as Street notes (1995:137) is that the mechanical aspects of literacy instruction tend to go on endlessly with the risk that students lose sight of the larger critical political agenda from which the literacy programmes derive.

In short when implementing curriculum at classroom level we need to avoid focusing exclusively on either the wider macro aspects of language and literacy awareness or the specific skills level; more particularly we need a pedagogy which links the two in coherent ways. I return to this issue in my account of the specific course design below.

5.6 Orientations to Critical Language Awareness Pedagogy

It is possible to identify several related orientations to CLA pedagogy; at the risk of over-simplifying them but in order to highlight some key issues I shall refer to them as 'emancipatory', 'difference orientated' and 'oppositional' respectively.

I noted the difficulties with terms such as 'empowerment' and 'emancipatory' in chapter one, namely that it is not always indicated what it is exactly we are empowering students to do or become, nor what it is they might be emancipated from. However some educators make very specific proposals through the materials they produce for ways in which the envisaged students may take greater control over their daily lives in particular practical ways. This is easier to imagine in specific contexts such as on the factory floor or in the case of particular social roles such as that of parent of a school-age child. Thus, Auerbach and Wallerstein (1987) who have worked with adult migrants in the US have a clear and explicit agenda for political

action which would arise out of the classroom work with their materials. This agenda might take shape in quite modest ways, through, for example, helping parents to be more assertive and confident in talking through a child's school report; or it may relate to the need to take action in the work place because of poor union organisation or neglect of workers' health. The empowerment ideology underpinning this approach is arguably relevant when one is working with groups who are disadvantaged through poverty or racial discrimination. Even in such cases, however, there may be difficulties with perceiving specific groups as disempowered, when those same groups may not perceive themselves as such or may simply not want to air particular issues in a public setting. This is a dilemma of which Auerbach and Wallerstein are certainly aware and it is for this reason that their codes are designed as 'open texts' (cf Eco 1979) where the problems posed might invite a wide range of responses to include those not envisaged by teachers or the writers of the material. The goal is to avoid the imposition of a single unequivocal interpretation of an event or situation portrayed.

Also problematic is a pedagogy centred around difference, as opposed to disadvantage (although the two are often linked). Pennycook (1994b) for instance talks of teaching which is committed to offering greater possibilities to specific groups (identified, for instance, by Pennycook 1994b: 297, to include 'people of colour, ethnic minorities, working class students, women, gays and lesbians'). The difficulty with identifying specific groups as, by virtue of a particular identity, requiring specific kinds of instruction is that consequences do not flow unproblematically from identity, - sexual, religious or other. Identities are multiple, complex, even contradictory, as we saw with the case of the black women students in South Africa, described by Janks (op cit). Unless care is taken with methodology (and methodological detail is not often offered by critical pedagogues) teaching centred around difference, diversity and particularity may become inappropriately patronising or celebratory in the romantic, personal growth tradition discussed in chapter three. Or it may invite opposition, which brings us to a further strand in the discourse.

The notion of 'opposition' has been viewed as axiomatic in some accounts of CDA and CLA. Pennycook, for example, says; 'a critical pedagogy of English needs to embrace a position oppositional to the central language norms and to the central

discursive constructs' (1994b:296). Difficulties with the term: 'oppositional' have been discussed earlier in this thesis. A further one which emerges from Pennycooks' statement here is that it is likely to be unclear just what 'central language norms and central discursive constructs' might be at particular moments in history. For many of us these were more readily identifiable during a period of government in Britain in the nineteen eighties and early nineties which had a distinctive ideology which we categorically wished to reject. In a more consensual era of more conflicting central discourses and ways of using language which provoke a range of ambivalent responses, an unequivocally oppositional stance is more problematic.

5.7 The Rationale for the Critical Reading Course

If one is uneasy about the discourses around empowerment, difference and opposition what position is one left with ? I wish to argue that the concepts invite qualification rather than outright rejection. Thus, although the Critical Reading course was not action oriented in the sense of engaging with specific kinds of discrimination, there was a concern to link the classroom world with social institutions beyond it. For instance on a previous course a joint letter sent to the editor of a national newspaper was the outcome of one particular text analysis. And action was certainly an option for individual students to follow up, as they wished. Indeed one student, Sylvie, used the class to get a firmer grasp on the language of political manifestos as she was doing her term assignment on the National Front. However, the course was not, in principle, directed to specific courses of action.

Moreover, the reading course was not based on assumptions of disadvantage, disempowerment or difference - at least as experienced by the students at the centre of this study. Though some of them had certainly met some forms of racism (and these are addressed later in this work) these students formed a relatively privileged group of young people who had gained access to university level education. The course was concerned with issues of inequity in the wider sense, not as necessarily personally experienced by the students in the group.

In other words, the focus was on commonality rather than difference. Such a concern is consistent with the philosophical preference for Habermasian as opposed to

Foucauldian relativist principles, which has been presented in this work. Practically this meant that the interest was ultimately in the universalising rather than the relativising of experience, to include, it is important to add, the universal experience of injustice and the abuse of power. One might add that there is also a universal responsibility to challenge social injustice, especially if, because of relatively privileged social circumstances, we are not personally implicated.

Most importantly, the course eschewed an oppositional position, encouraging a stance which does not necessarily set itself resolutely against establishment discourse but, in the spirit of resistance rather than opposition, involves a preparedness to question a wide range of orthodoxies embodied in complex and shifting discursive constructs.

To say this is immediately to invite the accusation that one is weakening the concept of 'critical' beyond recognition- losing any distinctive understanding of the term, so that to be critical becomes merely 'to reflect on'. It behoves critical educators who have eschewed action oriented, emancipatory goals or a clear oppositional stance to demonstrate what a critical pedagogy might look like.

With this need in view, one aim of this study is to offer more fine tuned exemplification of critical pedagogy. The study shifts focus away from study of texts alone, to include a critique of the interactions around texts in keeping with the need to examine the process of negotiated interpretations, noted above. The questions then become: What are the specific classroom structures (related, as noted in chapter three, to institutional and wider societal structures), input from various sources and kinds of role relationships which enhance or frustrate critical responses to texts; which facilitate the collaboratively negotiated understandings which was the concern of this study? Additionally, how is a classroom culture created to accommodate difference within consensus?

5.8 Aims of the Course

Firstly, at a more general level, the course drew on the two strands of critical literacy awareness described above, that is the macro awareness of literacy practices in social settings and the awareness of effects in actual texts. In other words, the aim

was to embed a close study of specific texts in a wider understanding of who reads what, where and why in different environments; also, although there was greater emphasis on the context of reception, to take account of different circumstances of the production of texts. The hope was that one outcome of the course would be that students would be able to use the fine-grained study of specific texts in intertextual ways to gain deeper understanding of the language and literacy practices surrounding them in everyday life.

A related goal was to promote a richer awareness of the uses of English (and by implication of other languages) and an ability to articulate observations and support cases for certain points of view with conviction, confidence and clarity. The claim of the course to be critical lay in its attempt to promote an awareness of relations of power through observations and analysis of language practices and processes.

Although the course was not a language course, in the sense that it did not aim to teach aspects of the language code, that is to teach or practice the lexicogrammar, it aimed to develop critical talk. The term taken to describe such talk is 'literate talk', which I have drawn from Wells (1991) and which, as noted in chapter three, has similarities with Habermas's notion of constative speech.

The dichotomy often used in ELT contexts, introduced by Brumfit (1984) between 'fluency' and 'accuracy' is not a pertinent one here. While students certainly showed varying degrees of accuracy of usage, - and grammatical errors were not corrected, - fluency, as normally understood, was not the goal either. As noted by Clegg (1992:16) hesitancy rather than fluency is to be expected where students are searching for cognitive clarity and critical acuity.

5.9 Principles of Design and Progression

Feedback from the participant observers in an exploratory pilot study was used to inform the design of the second, key study. This feedback had proposed four major recommendations:

1. Students should make a commitment to bring in material and to take an interest in current affairs. The teacher needs to present the students with a clear agenda as to expected ways of working on the course.
2. Because of some of the difficulties with culturally loaded texts, that is where there is a high degree of highly culture specific reference - largely inevitable with community texts - it might be best to begin with familiar genres and relatively accessible language.
3. In taking a broadly pre/while/post reading progression, as we had done during the pilot course, the pre-reading phase might be best done jointly by the whole group, as a schema building exercise, where existing knowledge, opinions and cultural resources could be shared, before embarking on 'while reading' tasks in small groups.
4. There might be an initial open-ended 'response to texts' assignment, as a way of discovering what kind and level of critical engagement with texts students drew on at the beginning of the course.

This advice, which came mainly from the key participant observer of the pilot group, Ros Tobin, was broadly followed.

Specifically the course was posited on the following principles:

- 1) A basic principle of the course design was that it should keep in sight throughout a context/text relationship. As Fowler (1996:10) counsels: 'when teaching it is necessary to...specify context in some detail, indicating relevant historic, economic and institutional circumstances'. The course shifted focus from context to text over the 15 weeks of its duration, but aimed to keep the contextual and cultural framing of texts always in sight. Specifically, this meant that the study of any particular text was always seen in its relationship to other texts, genres and discourses.

2) There was a move from practice to process, consistent with a shift from observation of the contexts of use for literacy to the scrutiny of particular texts. This meant that in early sessions students were asked to do simple literacy ethnographies based on the key principle of 'noticing', (cf 3.4.2) and similar in spirit to the kind of ethnographies carried out by the students in the Ealing and Durham studies, noted above. This meant any of the following out of class tasks:

1. Observation of reading and writing practices, within particular everyday contexts, such as in homes or on public transport
2. Observation of the presence and physical location of texts eg. hoardings, community leaflets (eg. in libraries, shops, educational institutions and other public places) - the specific nature and function of these
3. Preliminary discussion of the sociocultural significance of both the practices observed and the nature and range of the genres observed

The assumption underpinning these activities - one which is argued for in chapters one to three - is that patterns of literacy behaviour and the framing of literacy events carry social and ideological significance.

3) The need for some kind of model of language was judged axiomatic. I opted for a simple grammatical framework based around systemic/functional grammar which was introduced progressively. Reasons for drawing on Hallidayan grammar are introduced in chapter one but related to:

- the need for a set of grammatical terms, a metalanguage, to articulate - to pin down - perhaps to rethink observations made in first impression, more intuitive, global ways
- the need for a grammar which has breadth and can link micro to macro language functions

- the need for a grammar which allows the possibility of moving to greater depth of analysis, important when students will be finding a comfortable level of awareness suited to their existing grammatical knowledge and their reasons for following the course

Such a grammatical framework, it was envisaged, would offer explicitness about key terms and concepts. It would provide a metalanguage for the description of both contextual and textual features, to include the introduction of terms such as 'genre', 'intertextuality', 'model reader' and the term 'context' itself as what I call 'contextual' metalanguage, as opposed to 'textual' metalanguage relating to the grammar of texts.

The provision of a grammatical framework which students were expected to draw on in their analyses presupposes the value of offering some kind of explicit metalanguage to sharpen awareness. Some have challenged the value of such tools in language development (eg. Alderson 1997) while current research in second language acquisition is disposed to value the advantages of making metalinguistic knowledge available to students. I embarked on the course design on the assumption that such knowledge, while it might not facilitate language development, would certainly support awareness. However, it is possible to argue that students can reveal metalevel knowledge of various kinds without necessarily drawing on specific, taught terminology. Conversely students may use metalinguistic terms unenlighteningly, largely for display purposes. This issue is raised in the discussion in chapter seven.

Leaving aside the facilitating effects of the framework as judged retrospectively, when planning and teaching the course I opted for considerable teacher input, which included introduction of specialised terms, especially in the early sessions of the course.

4) Another goal was to collect evaluative feedback of various kinds: both evidence of learning from the course and learners' critical responses to the course. Indeed the two can be taken together in that one learning outcome of such a course might be expected to be a greater preparedness to critique the class itself, not in conventional

ways; to critique critically. These different kinds of evaluative responses will be considered through case study material in chapter eight which looks at several learner responses in depth, posited upon the principle that there is potentially a range of ways in which classrooms - like texts - may progress, though they are not therefore to be judged in relativistic terms as equally effective. The question which both teachers and students might ask, as with text critique, is how might things have been done (expressed/written) differently?

The rest of this chapter will describe the content of the class in terms of the textual material drawn on, and the specific tasks and framework which were designed for focused work on the texts and the procedures in which the material was embedded.

5.10 The Texts

There are different and conflicting criteria for the selection of texts for critical discourse analysis. Practical ones in the case of a class of foreign language learners in particular relate to length and linguistic difficulty of the texts. There is a problem too related to representativeness, as noted in chapter one, if extracts and fragments of larger texts are used. Indeed this dilemma does not just relate to critical language study. Cook (1986) makes the point with reference to literary texts that one is distorting a text by treating it apart from the wider context in which it was originally embedded. Thus, one decision made in this study was to use texts which were short in length, in the case of continuous narrative text, or which were manageable in scope and sheer amount of print - in the case of texts which had significant visual or graphic input. Another decision was to offer whole texts presented in their original graphic display. However the dilemma is not then resolved. Any text brought into the classroom is decontextualised; it is inevitably divorced from its original context of use (cf Meinhoff 1987)

A solution to this dilemma is to simply acknowledge that all classroom activity involves recontextualising (c.f. Bernstein 1996:116). That is both the kinds of knowledge imparted and the material used for educational purposes inevitably take on different sets of meanings through their framing in the classroom. The institutionalised

acknowledgement of content as significant, as worthy of attention, in itself gives it a different meaning. This does not justify presenting the trivial and obvious as educationally worthwhile. It does mean, however, that any text in a teaching context is read differently. A consequence is that where decisions are taken to use community texts, that is everyday texts, in the classroom they necessarily take on a different resonance. They are 'used' rather than read (cf. Eco 1992) by both teachers and pupils.

This goes some way to countering the objection that populist texts - as opposed to academically serious ones - have no place in the classroom. Though some of such material invites jocular reading - or at least has ways of deflecting potential criticism through self-ironising (cf. Eagleton 1991) one is at liberty to resist the reader positioning offered. This is consistent with 'reading against the grain', by reading the trivial in serious ways. Hoggart (1995:176) argues 'to assume that popular culture can be explored with crude tools because it is assumed to be crude, uncomplex, easy to read is a serious mistake' It should be noted that Hoggart offers this observation in the context of arguing that the skills developed in the reading of the classics are aptly put to use in analysis of popular texts.

A further justification for the inclusion of community texts is that these texts are influential in the wider cultural climate. Though some argue a prime role for them as objects of amusement, the opportunity for language play, such as Cook (1992), my view is that, while many media texts are undoubtedly amusing and attractive, - and are to be welcomed as classroom material for that reason - cumulatively such texts have useful things to tell us about the wider cultural and ideological climate. This in itself is of interest to foreign students.

Moreover, without an understanding of some of the cultural points of reference embedded and continually reinforced in everyday community texts, students may miss many intertextual clues, in their wider literary and even academic reading.

One is still likely to be left with the problem - especially in the case of foreign language students - that there is too great a density of culture-specific information, too many highly esoteric references which are especially characteristic of essentially ephemeral texts such as newspaper articles of topical, often parochial interest. Hence there is some need for principles of progression in presentation of the material.

It is important too to build in the role of intertextuality on the principle that any particular text needs to be read in the light of other texts, and begins to take on wider sociocultural meaning when read in such a context. The intertextual principle can be exploited pedagogically in a number of different ways. One might, for instance, show how the same genre, even the same story, can select different discourses. This is the basis of some of the material produced for 'Changing Stories' (Mellor et al 1984) which shows, for instance, how five different versions of 'Little Red Riding Hood' create different overall ideological effects largely through the making of systematically different kinds of linguistic choices. The same principle can operate in the case of very different genres such as news reports, where one can discuss what might motivate the different linguistic options made in the writing of the same news item across different publications. This is the principle on which the 'Mandela' set of texts described below was selected and exploited in the classroom. Alternatively, one can take sets of texts from the same or comparable sources, which appear not on the same day but serially, to be read against each other over several weeks or months. With this in mind, we examined a series of texts from the womens' magazine 'Marie Claire' which revealed a clearly identifiable discourse about the lives of women in distant places. To be eligible for the particular 'Society' slot which was a regular feature of the magazine - to have the appropriate level of exoticism - the communities described had to live in remote parts of the world - remote that is from northern Europe and North America. Once one had acquired familiarity with this particular genre the occurrence of certain discourse, regularly brought into play to serve the purposes of identifying 'the Other' in Said's (1985) terms, became highly predictable.

While students can legitimately complain of a waste of intellectual energy expended on the essentially worthless; that it is harder but more rewarding to look critically at the texts of the Academy, one can argue the case for community texts not to replace canonical literary ones or academic texts which might support future study but as part of a broad critical literacy education for the twentieth century. Indeed, as Hoggart (op cit) counsels, a knowledge of ways of reading canonical texts is an important preparation for reading popular ones.

5.10.1 The Selection and Progression of Material for the Specific Course:

Texts were drawn from a wide range of community sources: letters through the mail, advertisements, posters taken down from billboards, political manifestos, travel brochures and newspaper material of various kinds. Both the students and myself brought texts into the classroom to add to the pool. However it was then my role to decide on the use of these texts.

While topic was clearly important as a criterion for the students in the selection of the material, progression was based around genre. Particularly with a group of students from diverse cultural backgrounds it is interesting to compare the existence of genres and how generic conventions are realised in different social contexts and what social purposes are served by established or newly evolving genres. For this reason I took the concept of genre as my organising principle in choosing the way in which particular texts fitted into a coherent course structure.

However one is still left with choices as how to order the genres to offer some rational kind of progression. With this course the choice was made to begin with interpersonal texts as arguably more accessible in a number of ways to foreign language students, moving on to descriptive and report texts and concluding with expository texts. Within these broadly defined texttypes which will be universally identifiable are located culture-specific realisations of these in the shape of genres, such as advertisements, manifestos, leaflets, and newspaper editorials.

In making practical choices relating to syllabus content, cultural and ideological factors are implicated as well as linguistic difficulty. Thus accessibility needs to be judged on a number of levels in planning the criteria for progression and in avoiding the introduction of texts in an ad hoc way. For instance, while material might be generically familiar to students, it might, in terms of content, be culturally inaccessible. I took the decision to begin with advertising, because, while culturally obscure in many ways, it is noticeable and attractive for students. Moreover, the linguistic content may be minimal. So in beginning with the analysis of predominantly visual texts, students are introduced progressively to greater density of written text, with a lessening dependence on visual image.

It is important to point out that no decision as to introduction and ordering of material is straightforward. One can certainly dispute the claim of easier access to the visual. Clayton (1995), for instance, points out how CDA proponents have neglected to offer adequate analyses of the visual images which, especially in popular texts, accompany conventional print. Analyses of the visual will, potentially, be as complex and sophisticated - and as critical - as print-dependent ones. A group of educators and critical discourse analysts involved in a project to conceptualise what they term the new 'multiliteracies' (The New London Group 1996) are attempting to address this issue. However, the professional preparation of most EFL teachers predisposes them to orthodox linguistic analysis, interpreted in different ways, rather than to visual analysis. This poses a further problem in wishing to take generically diverse texts drawn from everyday life, - texts which are increasingly dependent on visual features or are 'multi-modal' in Kress's (1997) terms.

As well as criteria related to linguistic and cultural content and to variability of mode is the issue of ideological content. This, it has been argued here, is a central and defining feature to a course in critical language awareness. The position argued in this work is that ideology is a feature of texts (cf. chapter one), rather than merely a matter of interpretation. Moreover ideology is not equally salient. Lack of salience, of course, does not mean relative absence of significance - quite the reverse, as noted in chapter one (cf. Batstone 1995). In terms of text selection, then, does one opt to begin with texts whose ideology is worn 'on its sleeve' so to speak, moving on to those whose ideological loading is more covert, whose meanings are more deniable (cf. Batstone op cit)?

My choice of texts in terms of their relative ideological weight was influenced by the progression which Halliday describes (1990a) by which certain features of texts are more noticeable than others. He takes semantic criteria but these are, in his lexico-grammar, always linked to formal ones. Thus he argues that logical anomalies are most accessible to challenge. One might add that anomalies within the sentence would be more readily observed than inconsistencies which emerge over an extended argument. For example: She was an only child with two sisters. The next level which Halliday describes is represented by language which is loaded or biased through

strongly negatively or positively connotated vocabulary. A characteristic of an effective user of a language is recognition of such connotative meaning at lexical level, and early classes in a CLA course are likely to be based around this aspect of texts - of the kind proposed by Bolinger (1980). A third level suggested by Halliday is at the level of grammar, but grammatical categories which are both readily describable and salient. An example would be the use of pronouns. Indeed students can begin to talk about the effect of pronoun choice in the early stages of a critical language awareness course. Finally at the level of clause structure are more deeply concealed ideological effects, so Halliday argues. Moreover, it is possible to argue for greater degrees of covertness within the category of clause structure. Thus various forms of deletion, such as deletion of agents in the case of passivisation may be more readily observed than, say, the varying function of cohesive features (cf Gough and Talbot 1996:219/220).

The degree to which it is possible to identify some of the above features as salient in particular genres can be related to the timing for the introduction of texts. Thus certain genres and specific exemplars of genres will fairly consistently show a greater incidence of personal pronouns or strongly connotated vocabulary than genres, such as, for instance, arguments of various kinds whose significant ideological effects will be observable only at clause level.

5.11 The Framework for Text Analysis:

Linked to the phased introduction to the students of particular kinds of texts was an introduction, also phased, to tools of grammatical description. Consistent with the introduction of 'interpersonal' texts initially was an emphasis on key features of interpersonal language, such as personal pronouns and modality. The original plan had been to introduce students week by week to successive terms as related to the particular texts studied. However, because the students seemed to feel comfortable with the traditional and familiar terminology presented initially, I took the decision to introduce the framework reproduced in figure 1 at week 5 of the course. It was made clear that this was a framework for reference only which at this point served two purposes: to consolidate the terms we had used so far to describe context of situation:

field, tenor and mode, and to ensure consistency in the use of grammatical terms in the text analysis planned for the subsequent weeks of the course. It seemed that a third of the way through the course students were ready to get a clearer sense of the direction we would be taking.

FIGURE ONE: THE HALLIDAYAN FRAMEWORK
CRITICAL READING

A framework for a critical analysis of texts(based on Hallidayan functional grammar)

FIELD OF DISCOURSE

IDEATIONAL MEANINGS

(how the writer describes what is going on in the text, i.e. what the text is about)

PARTICIPANTS

WHAT/WHO is talked about?
i.e. what or who are the major participants
what or who are the minor participants
what or who are the invisible participants
HOW are the participants talked about, ie. what adjectives or nouns collocate with them?

PROCESSES

What verbs (collocating with the major participants) describe what kind of processes, i.e. material, mental and relational processes?

CIRCUMSTANCES

How specifically are circumstances indicated, e.g. by adverbs or prepositional phrases?

CAUSATION:

How is causation attributed?
Is agency always made clear, ie. who did what to whom?
Are actors in subject position?

EFFECT OF THE WRITER'S CHOICES?

TENOR OF DISCOURSE

INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS

(how the writer indicates his/her relationship with the reader and what his/her attitude to the subject matter of the text is)

PERSON

What personal pronouns are selected? How does the writer refer to self, subjects and reader?

MOOD

What mood is most frequently selected - declarative, imperative or interrogative?

MODALITY

What role does modality play in, for example, expressing a degree of certainty or authority?

ADVERBS
ADJECTIVES,
NOUNS
indicating
writer attitude

Are there adjectives, nouns or adverbs which indicate writer attitude to his/her subject matter?

EFFECT OF THE WRITER'S CHOICES?

MODE OF DISCOURSE

TEXTUAL MEANINGS

(how the content of the text is organised)

SEMANTIC
STRUCTURE

Is the text narrative, expository or descriptive, as indicated, for example, by the use of past or present tense?

OVERALL
TEXTUAL
ORGANISATION

What larger structures does the text have, e.g. in terms of beginnings and endings? In what form is information represented, e.g. as direct or indirect speech?

THEME

What information is selected for first position, at clause level and at the level of the whole text?

COHESION

How does the text hang together as a text, for example what kinds of connectors are used (related to the semantic structure of the text?)

EFFECT OF THE WRITER'S CHOICES?

It will be clear that this is a fairly crude and much simplified representation of some key categories in Hallidayan grammar. In its justification, I would point out that Fowler (1996:8) notes that even professional critical discourse analysts, that is those with a background in linguistics much beyond that of the students in this study, 'get a very high mileage out of a small selection of linguistic concepts such as transitivity and nominalisation'. The aim of the framework which I designed was merely to start students thinking about texts in semanticogrammatical terms. Thus the notion of 'participant' to describe nouns of all kinds can highlight in quite concrete ways for students what kinds of people, events or phenomena are salient in texts and, by the same token, signal which participants were potentially available for mention or for greater salience in the text, but were in fact given little or no prominence. The issue of what might constitute a pedagogically feasible, simple grammar with possibly different routes of access for different kinds of students is crucial to critical language awareness. It remains, however, largely unaddressed, except by some Australian educators (eg Deriwianka 1992)

5.12 The Tasks:

Just as the texts were selected and ordered so as to pose progressively greater demands on students, so were the accompanying tasks. As well as the major principle that the tasks should progress in the kinds of demands they made on the learners, another key principle was that the task should mediate between the text and the framework. The task, that is, aimed to offer specific guidance to how a text might be analysed in class but once the framework had been introduced, was set against the greater detail, or the fuller picture offered by the framework.

There seem to be two potentially opposing principles in task design, when a task supports text analysis. Firstly, the task should match the text (cf Wallace 1992a:90). Secondly, however, tasks should have some generalisability and consistency for students so that they can see some coherence of approach across the course as a whole, and in order to ease the pressure of preparation time on teachers. This apparent dilemma can be overcome if one sees tasks as matching not specific texts but genres. Thus the same task format might be used to support analysis of advertisements of similar kinds, assuming, of course, that there is a shared purpose to the text analysis.

A dilemma less easily resolved is that the task provided by the teacher imposes on the student a way of reading the text. Finally one needs a balance between a structured progressive approach which supports a growing understanding of features of texts and the provision for students spontaneously to notice quite other but equally legitimate features of text and context not predicted by the task type.

5.13 The Course Programme

Included here is the week by week programme as presented to the students:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>Week one:</i> | Introduction. Ways of noticing texts and readers in different environments in our daily lives |
| <i>Week two:</i> | Talking about texts: Introduction to genre. Classifying written texts under topic and readership |
| <i>Week three:</i> | Talking about readers 1: How can we tell which texts are written for which readers? Focus on advertisements |

- Week four:** Talking about readers 2: Why are texts written and presented in particular ways? Focus on advertisements for cars and perfume in 'Mens' and 'Womens' magazines
- Week five:** Talking about topic 1: Why are people, places and things described in particular ways? Focus on magazine and newspaper articles
- Week six:** Talking about topic 2: Why are events reported in particular ways? Focus on newspapers
- Week seven:** Introduction to a framework for text analysis. A closer look at advertisements and other texts which aim to persuade us to behave in certain ways
- Week eight:** A closer look at magazine articles, in particular the different ways in which language is used to represent participants in texts
- Week nine:** A closer look at newspapers, in particular the ways in which the same events are reported differently
- Week ten:** Poems, songs, folk tales and romantic fiction. Do we want to read these texts critically
- Week eleven:** News reports. Front page stories What makes the news? How are the participants, processes and cause and effect represented? How is point of view represented?
- Week twelve:** Comment on the news: the role of editorials. Features of expository comment
- Week thirteen:** News articles and features. Differences and similarities between a range of newspaper genres. The role of authorship
- Week fourteen:** Open for group to select own genres and topics to analyse
- Week fifteen:** End of course evaluation and in- class assignment

It should be noted that this programme was presented very much as an outline of the kind of territory which we expected to cover. As noted in the above discussion and in the sample lessons below, we did not keep strictly to this week by week plan.

5.14 Sample Lessons

In this section I shall offer an account of the work which was done at different stages of the course, including some samples of task types. Several of these lessons and their accompanying materials are further referred to in chapters seven and eight. The texts referred to in lessons 4, 9 and 14 are included in Appendix Two.

1) Week Two: Genre awareness task

An early classroom activity which related to the initial consciousness raising phase of the course centred around the construct of genre as central to the course. This is an activity which aims to draw students' attention to the sociocultural nature of genres. Working with a wide range of types of text brought into the class by all of us, the students in groups attempted a generic classification, using this framework:

Try to classify the texts on each table. Suggested categories might be: requests from charities or causes; public information leaflets; professional reading material; reading for entertainment or leisure

- a) who produces them: eg. public bodies, commercial enterprises, local authorities
- b) for whom are they produced, ie who are the consumers or the expected readers of the material?
- c) why has the text been produced?
- d) is this type of text of interest or relevance to you?
- e) choose one text from each category which particularly appeals to you, either because of its style or content and discuss with other members of the group

Observations arising from this task included the identification of genres which were unfamiliar to some of the students. One example was a political newsheet produced by a pressure group campaigning on behalf of the indigenous people of East Timor. I was aware that this material was sensitive both in terms of genre and its specific content, as there was an Indonesian student in the group. Not surprisingly, the student commented on this text with some curiosity, not having seen a text of this type before, and indeed took it away with him until the following week, raising the issue of how permissible was my inclusion of such material. More typical than non-

recognition of genre, however were comments by the students that familiar genres were differently realised. An example in this case was the observation that in most of the students' countries theatre programmes would not include advertising, as many for London theatres do. Moreover, the realisation that political parties expect payment for their manifestos was greeted with disbelief.

An incidental outcome of this kind of activity is that students can select specific texts for future detailed analysis during the course. They can, that is, be added to the pool. This was the case with a text which Yang Yang, the Chinese student came upon in the magazine 'Marie Claire'. In the feedback from the task Yang Yang responded to the text, which was about the working lives of women in a remote part of China, very much as a code in the Freirean sense, commenting:

This reminded me of my own experience of my own work in the countryside in the 70s.

(Yang Yang had been one of the young intellectuals who worked in rural China during the Cultural Revolution)

2) Week Four: POWER AND CONTROL Readership awareness task

One of the key concepts which the course aimed explicitly to introduce was that of readership, in particular the notion of model readership, and this was the focus of this task, which involved identifying the readership of an advertisement for a car. (cf Appendix Two: no.1). As noted above, the course assumed the need for a working set of terms to talk about both context and text, to emphasise the manner in which texts of all kinds mediate in the business of everyday life and carry cultural meaning. Thus terms introduced so far included the key ones of context itself - what we might understand by 'context of situation' and 'context of culture' and genre. At the same time three key questions had been introduced to guide the macro level study of texts carried out in the early weeks of the course. These, adapted from Kress 1989, were:

Why has this text been written

What is the topic of this text

Who is this text addressed to

These continued to be used as orientation questions for initial responses to texts throughout the course, with the expectation that they would be revisited as first glance readings were revised on closer inspection of the text. For this lesson our interest was in question 3. What kind of reader is envisaged and what kind of evidence can we draw on to make a judgement? It was made clear that judgements are not definitive or categorical. Such a task however allows us to pose a question which is typically not addressed, at least in language study in the foreign language classroom. At the same time its goal was to remind students of some key, familiar conventional grammatical terms to pin down specific use of language. At this stage of the course the text was being analysed at a fairly superficial level with attention paid in particular to connotative meaning. Figure two gives an example of the task worksheet. The students worked in pairs before offering their comments in whole class discussion. The interaction following this analysis is offered in episode one in chapter seven. The text to which it refers is included in Appendix Two, no. 1.

FIGURE TWO:
CRITICAL READING: WEEK 4 ADVERTISEMENTS
Focus on readerships as indicated by linguistic features

This reader is	because	the text uses this language			
		Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs	Other
e.g. male	
working class					
European					

After your comments on the text, note:

1. Do you think that you are the 'model reader' of this text?
Why
Why not
2. Is this a culturally familiar text to you?
Why
Why not

3) Week Nine: MANDELA'S HOMECOMING Contrastive Reports Task:
the representation of participants

The texts dealt with in this lesson were four versions of the 'Mandela release' news story which Stubbs drew on in 1990. (cf Appendix Two, no.2 for a copy of the four texts). The aim was to ask students to judge the degree to which the text producers had differed or coincided in the lexicogrammatical selections they had made in presenting the event, and to evaluate the effects. This task was introduced after the presentation of the Hallidayan framework and was designed to encourage a closer examination of some of the key features of continuous texts. While earlier lessons had looked at interpersonally orientated texts such as advertisements, letters and written versions of political speeches, which specifically address a reader - often through some form of second person pronoun - the newspaper texts introduced in this lesson represented a shift to reporting language. They offered the opportunity to introduce some features of ideational language, with a focus on the representation of participants and processes, in particular the way in which the major participant of all the texts surveyed - Nelson Mandela - is variously portrayed. One obvious advantage of such 'text sets' is that most of the contextual features are kept constant: the date and place of publication, the event described, the genre. What differentiates them is their immediate source - the fact that they appeared in different British daily newspapers. Students were first asked to raise the orientation questions, as noted in lesson 4. The students coming as they did from many parts of the world were able to testify that, unusually, this story had on that day in February 1990 made headline news internationally. Key lexical choices in the banner headlines were then discussed, in particular the word 'homecoming', before the students in pairs answered the two 'focus' questions which were calculated to explore the treatment of the major participants in the text, albeit at a fairly generalised level. The questions were:

Looking only at the first three paragraphs of the respective texts, note the following:

- 1) How is Mandela talked about, that is what nouns and verbs collocate with his mention in the texts ?
- 2) What other participants are introduced?

The interaction around this text which occurred during the feedback session is discussed in Episode 2 in chapter seven.

The set of texts about Mandela is included in Appendix Two: no. 2

4) Week Fourteen: *CHILDMINDER* Revisiting text in context

This was the penultimate week of the course, the final one being reserved for the end of course assignment. My aim was to return to the context/text relationship on which the course had been broadly based, that is to reaffirm the need to see any concrete text as arising in specific situational and wider cultural contexts.

It had become clear that working with a pre/ while/ post reading procedure was constraining and problematic for several reasons: firstly this linear model, although institutionalised in reading methodology (cf Wallace 1981, 1992.) does not adequately reflect the dynamic of the reading process, where the context/text relationship is much more fluid. In other words it is an oversimplification to claim, as many of us have done, that we come with questions to be answered (pre-reading) to which in the course of reading (while reading) we might discover answers. Secondly pre- reading questions, usually provided in one way or another by the teacher, unjustifiably position the reader, closing off options to raise arguably much more pertinent and interesting questions. While some kind of pre/while/post structure might help early L2 readers, the evidence from this class suggests that while students certainly bring crucial initial schematic knowledge to bear, questions related to context emerge and are firmed up in the course of reading the text, so that there is a shift back and forth between a focus on text and context, that is, between background knowledge of the world and textually given knowledge. Effective, critical readers are able, in the course of reading itself, to identify problematic areas, not so much in terms of unknown words, but related to the kinds of cultural and ideological meanings that are creating difficulty for them. More significantly, if equipped with a functional metalanguage, students can name these problems, that is, begin to be able to categorise kinds of textual reference for themselves, to identify, for instance, what is local, specific knowledge, what is related to genre, what to wider cultural practices and values.

For the above reasons the course had moved away from the previous linear format. Thus the starting point of the lesson was the text, 'Council seeks compromise

over golliwog' (Appendix Two: set no. 3) brought in by the key participant observer, Monica, and - as was customary with all the texts - surveyed before the class. We dispensed with a pre-reading preamble and the categories previously introduced and discussed were used to classify problematic aspects of the text which were located and named as; knowledge of genre, knowledge of source and so on. In other words, having looked at the text together we identified areas of cultural and ideological difficulty which took us back to the contextual aspects we began with at the start of the course. (cf Appendix Three: lesson fourteen, for classroom interaction in which students are contributing their knowledge of contextual terms in the framing of the 'Childminder' text)

One cannot talk about context without revisiting the notion of intertextuality. In the 'Childminder' text, for instance, there is a very specific reference to well-known childhood texts for people who have been brought up in Britain - the 'Noddy' books by Enid Blyton. The discourse around implied racism, versus what has come to be known as 'political correctness' cannot be accessed in the absence of some kind of understanding of what these childhood texts represent to the model reader. We read text against text. However such reading experiences necessarily take us beyond the classroom setting. This is one clear difficulty of a critical reading approach which eschews the comprehension view, as presented in chapter two. In the belief that we can, at least acknowledge the intertextual principle, I brought into class a copy of one of the original (ie. uncensored) Noddy books (Blyton 1952, reprinted 1983) and offered a dictionary definition of 'golliwog' (taken from the Longman dictionary of Culture). These texts were then read alongside the news article and undoubtedly led to some adjustment of response in the students' reading of the original 'Childminder' text. For instance Yang Yang said:

'When I read the story (that is, the original text) I really didn't think about the racist er racism, because I think we can use all kinds of colours er to make toys, but when, - with this connection between this er Noddy and er golliwog, I think that really is not so right, to let small children get very clear pictures in their brain about black boy er black small child and a white faced child'

The interaction prompted by this set of texts is given in chapter seven, episode three. The set of texts which we used in this class, to include an additional news

article, which updated the story are included in Appendix three, no. 3. Figure three shows the completed tasks which were the outcome of this class, which involved students in small groups focusing, respectively, on interpersonal, ideational and textual aspects of the 'Childminder' text.

5.15 Concluding Comments

In this chapter I have presented an account of the main features of the rationale of the course with some samples of its methodology and materials. However, in order to fill out the picture and address the issue of the interpretative community within which interpretations are constructed we need to scrutinise more closely specific interactions around texts. This is the focus of chapters six and seven.

FIGURE THREE

TASK "CHILDMINDER" CRITICAL READING - WEEK 14

WHILE READING:

1. INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS	2 IDEATIONAL MEANINGS	3 TEXTUAL MEANINGS
<p>Note any use of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - personal pronouns or ways reader/writer or main participants are referred to - mood/modality - language items, e.g. nouns which reflect writer <u>attitude</u> <p>golly → toy → it</p> <p>No: ddy → boy → he</p> <p>in sentence "they might think that he is racist."</p> <p>Childminder</p> <p>Writer: Deen Newton or Mrs Newton</p> <p>Social status { Inspector, Lorrie Lane Rastafarian Mr. Lane</p> <p>Superior, June Martin</p> <p>Greenwich Council: Labour</p> <p>Controlled local authority</p> <p>Nouns indicate the writer's attitude:</p> <p>(preservation) ② compromise agreement confrontation authority superior</p> <p>→ "racist toy" - sin in the eyes of inspector</p> <p>a goods car & child-minder</p>	<p>Note who major pps are and what VERBS collocate</p> <p>e.g.: SUPPORT - Floods in</p>	<p>Note: what kind of text is this</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - how is information presented - what comes first

Reflect the writer's attitude toward

POST READING:

the side of Mrs Newton and report of a less 'visible' participant,

the Council's compromise

TASK "CHILDMINDER" CRITICAL READING - WEEK 14

WHILE READING:

1. INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS	2 IDEATIONAL MEANINGS	3 TEXTUAL MEANINGS
<p>Note any use of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - personal pronouns or ways reader/writer or main participants are referred to - mood/modality - language items, e.g. nouns which reflect writer <u>attitude</u> 	<p>Note who major pps are and what VERBS collocate e.g.: SUPPORT - Floods in</p>	<p>Note: what kind of text is this</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - how is information presented - what comes first <p><u>Direct speech</u>: 1/ Council spokeswoman. 2/ Mrs. Newton. 3/ council spokeswoman. 4/ Mrs Newton (end of the text)</p> <p><u>Indirect speech</u>: 1/ Mr. Lane, who carried the inspection. 2/ Booklet (Working Group). 3/ Council.</p> <p>The Council is presented in a weak position.</p> <hr/> <p>What comes first?</p> <p>1. Support for the childminder. Then, letters. Then, council's opinion.</p>

POST READING:

Think of other ways the text might have been written. E.g. - taking the point of view of a less 'visible' participant,

TASK "CHILDMINDER" CRITICAL READING - WEEK 14

WHILE READING:

1. INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS	2 IDEATIONAL MEANINGS	3 TEXTUAL MEANINGS
<p>Note any use of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - personal pronouns or ways reader/writer or main participants are referred to - mood/modality - language items, e.g. nouns which reflect writer <u>attitude</u> 	<p style="text-align: center;">mental</p> <p>Note who major pps are and what VERBS collocate</p> <p>e.g.: <u>SUPPORT</u> - Floods in is growing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Childminder - faces (Deena Newton) - refuses - compounded • Parents + other childminders - back her stand - is mixed race • Council (Labour - controlled local authority) - seeks - refused - need - is planning • Lorrie Lane (Inspector) - is offended by the toy → - cares - think - need <p>Letters <u>have been</u> pouring from parents</p> <p>Noddy</p> <p>Golliwog - has no place</p> <p>Racist</p>	<p>Note: what kind of text is this</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - how is information presented - what comes first

POST READING:

Think of other ways the text might have been written. E.g. - taking the point of view of a less 'visible' participant,

CHAPTER 6: WAYS OF ANALYSING CLASSROOM TALK

6.1 Introduction

Broad principles for critical pedagogy were set out in chapter three. The aim in this chapter is to present some of its distinguishing features, with closer reference to the classroom data presented in chapter seven. The classroom study, as noted in chapter four, is not presented as a model of good practice; the concern is not to show what critical pedagogy looks like in reality but what it might look like if a number of circumstances are taken account of. The data is presented to show both the constraints inevitably imposed by the classroom setting but also, more importantly, to discuss aspects of such settings that can be questioned and changed in order to enhance the quality and equality of classroom interaction. It is conceded that any claims as to progress over the duration of the course can only be suggestive, and, as argued below, less related to individual progress than to the development of the class as a critical community of discussants.

My experience of teaching the fifteen week course, described in chapter five, and more fully in this and the subsequent two chapters, is used to explore the process by which language awareness emerges in the course of a particular class; more specifically I look at the way in which the process is mediated not only by the study of written texts as accessed by tasks but by the verbal contributions of class participants. The term 'emerges' is here used advisedly. Because this was not an experimental study it was not possible to measure in any precise way what had been specifically learnt and taught through the course. In an exploratory study such as this, any growth in awareness can only be captured from the evidence provided respectively by diaries, interviews and reading protocols, as well as the classroom data presented in chapter seven.

It is argued here that fine-tuned examination of classroom data has the potential to offer the classroom teacher insights about the effectiveness of classroom interaction which would otherwise not be readily available. For while teachers necessarily attend to the content of the syllabus, discussed in chapter five, many

aspects of their interactional behaviour operate typically below the level of consciousness. In short, as the teacher of the class under investigation I would maintain that only retrospective consideration of the data brought into relief aspects of the interactional behaviour I promoted in the class, in particular my own interventions, and the ways in which they either facilitated or frustrated the jointly constructed negotiated kinds of interpretations of texts to which I was committed.

One feature which this study was able to look at, - in principle at least- which eludes classroom studies which look more cross-sectionally, is that as the course continued over a period of some months, it was possible to consider in what ways if any the classroom community changed, what kind of class identity evolved and how individual lessons fitted together sequentially to form a course. Moreover, we were not so much going through a ready-made course as developing and building it (there was no external, imposed syllabus and no textbook) though of course there were, as pointed out in chapter three, all kinds of wider sociocultural constraints.

My aim here is to evaluate the classroom talk of teacher and students both in its role as a tool for and as evidence of effective learning and teaching. As noted in chapter three, in the case of language teaching, language is both medium and content: students are learning language, learning about language and learning through language. Different kinds of content may be involved, including curriculum content which extends beyond the usual parameters of language learning and involves presentation of specific concepts. This was the case here and some of the curriculum knowledge relevant to this class was conveyed transmissively. This kind of transmission teaching was weighted towards both the beginning of the course and the beginning of each lesson where there was often a period of extended teacher talk where key concepts were introduced. These periods of teacher talk constitute episodes in the sense that they have a predictable structure and typical length. Lemke (1990:50) uses the term 'episode' to reflect the manner in which lessons are typically divided into different activity types or subgenres to include periods of teacher input, student group work and feedback sessions.

The episodes considered here are the feedback discussion sessions which followed the group work. They formed a distinct sub-genre in all of the classes, taking

on different characteristics from other classroom episodes. The extracts offered in chapter seven need to be seen in the context of the teacher led presentations which were typically followed by a period of group or pair work, leading to feedback discussion by the whole class. (full transcripts of the whole lessons are presented in Appendix Three)

During the group work when students worked in pairs or threes on tasks related to texts, they prepared notes which would form the basis of subsequent reporting back to the whole class. This procedure, while it sacrificed a degree of spontaneity, allowed students to plan their contributions, with the support of their peers and helped to ensure that less confident students, with written notes to hand, were guaranteed a turn at talk. In the feedback episodes students took turns as representatives of their partners in the group work. In this spokesperson role they were handed a microphone. This mode of presentation emphasised and made explicit the shift from the private, more confidential tenor of the small group work to the public performance aspects of the feedback presentations. However, the small size of the group and the classroom made this less daunting than would be the case in a large class. Because of the reference to written notes the mode is in some ways 'reading out loud'. However the prepared, scripted parts of the event were interspersed with spontaneous additions to include contributions from other students.

A greater degree of planning offers opportunities for extended individual turns at talk. As Brown and Yule (1983) note, long turns at talk are rare in classroom discourse, even though they are instrumental in developing particular kinds of proficiency in talk, proficiency which may be denied not just to L2 learners but, so Brown and Yule argue, L1 learners. They put it thus: 'the ability to construct long turns (ie. more than short utterances) appears to vary with individuals. (it)is not an ability which is automatically acquired by all native speakers of a language. It is an ability which appears to need adequate models, adequate practice and feedback.' (Brown and Yule 1983:19). It is, I would add, an ability linked to the presentation, support and development of points of view which is part of what we normally understand as discussion.

These 'discussion' episodes offer, I argue, not just some insights into the nature of classroom talk but function also as a window on the critical reading process, or rather one phase of this process. Much of the close engagement with texts, while it clearly also occurs through the text analysis in class, was done at home in preparation for the class and not readily available for scrutiny. We are therefore looking largely at the outcomes of the reading process as brought into play in class discussion. However, as argued in chapter two and more fully below, a wider view of literacy practice sees talk around texts as a revisiting and reevaluation of the original reading. Therefore discussion about and around texts can legitimately be seen as part of the reading process in a wider sense. Indeed this wider view of the reading process is what I would wish to claim as a key aspect of critical literacy.

The term 'discussion' is important here and in the next section we will consider how it might differ from either real life conversation or the kinds of classroom interaction which are usually seen to typify the language learning classroom.

6.2 Classroom Talk

Classroom talk has been investigated in the foreign language classroom mainly in terms of social functions, of being able to do things with words. This is a partly a legacy of the strong influence of the Speech Act theorists (cf. discussion in chapter one) and also Brown and Yule (op cit). The role of talk as social action has prevailed in L2 classrooms. However, educators with a wider agenda for language education have noted the need to acknowledge the role of talk in learning, understood as (Wells and Chang-Wells 1992:55) 'the acquisition and development of more complex conceptual structures and cognitive procedures'. Further, others (eg. Phillips 1985:78) note that different **styles** of talking foster different kinds of cognitive processes.

However, in foreign language classrooms, consistent with a relative lack of interest in wider educational goals, there has been a neglect of talk for learning, and, more specifically, of argumentative or constative speech. Admittedly language across the curriculum approaches in English medium contexts and work in English for specific purposes have addressed educational needs beyond language learning in order to focus on curriculum content. Even in those cases, however, there may be little

emphasis on what Mercer (1995) calls 'educated discourse'. As Mercer says 'becoming educated is largely a matter of learning certain ways with words' (1995:28). This is the kind of talk where 'reasoning is more visible' as Mercer (op cit: 37) puts it, where unlike with free and spontaneous conversation we are expected to give an account of ourselves.

To accept the term 'educated discourse' presupposes that schooling involves a socialisation into language practices which are necessarily different from everyday talk, a view which echoes Bernstein's work on elaborated codes (cf.eg. Bernstein 1990). Educated discourse can be seen as a macro concept to describe various uses of language which typify schooling, under which might be subsumed discourse types, in the sense used by Davies (1995), to refer to a range of general rhetorical goals of texts, such as description, argument and exposition. If we wish to give these types of discourse a clearer generic identity we may prefer to use terms such as: story, discussion, conversation or debate. In other words there are shared cultural assumptions about what the defining features of events variously entitled, 'debate', 'quarrel' or 'discussion' might be. It might, for instance, generally be agreed that a discussion involves argument, in the sense of presenting a case with supporting reasons or evidence. However, there are different points of view regarding what the purpose of argument is, rhetorically speaking. Brooks and Warren (1952 in Urquhart 1996:29) describe argument as 'the kind of discourse used to make the audience...think or act as the arguer desires'. The sense of 'argument' I wish to put forward here is different. It presupposes an interest in the pursuit of enquiry in a more disinterested spirit and is the kind of talk which constitutes 'constative speech' in Habermas's terms. It is characterised, for instance, by elaboration and clarification and the deployment of particular kinds of linguistic and cultural resources to support points of view.

Because one of the requirements of discussion or constative speech is that it should make the grounds of opinions and judgments explicit it may depart in distinctive ways from conversation, which is embedded in everyday activities and serves different functions. We might also expect that transcripts of classroom discussion are more transparent, more able to stand outside the specific context in

which they originally occurred than transcription of conversation which is notoriously difficult to make sense of, simply because of its embedded nature.

6.3 Talk Around Texts: Critical Literacy

Just as we need a richer, less reductionist view of the role of talk in language education, so do we of literacy. Critical literacy comes into play not just in the multilayered awareness and interpretation of texts but in talk around texts. Talk around texts offers opportunities to check out our own preferred readings against those of others at the macro as well as micro level of ephemeral as well as canonical texts (cf. chapter five). Such talk also creates the occasion, as noted in chapter five, for multiple interpretations of texts; it has the potential to offer in the words of Habermas (1992: 137) 'expansion of our interpretative horizons'

The way experiences with print impact on certain kinds of talk is acknowledged in the term introduced in chapter three from Wells - 'literate talk' (Wells 1991) and is close to what Mercer means by 'educated discourse'. Educated discourse is firstly influenced by access to written texts: Mercer (1995:29) offers this example of interaction with his own child at the age of nearly three:

Anna: Daddy will you play with me?
(no reply)

Anna: Daddy, will you play with me?
(no reply)

Anna: Daddy! Daddy, will you play with me (pause) she said to her Daddy.

This example, clearly influenced by access to story book language, shows the kind of self-consciousness which comes from separating out the form and meaning of language through access to an emergent textual function which reveals that language offers us different ways of saying things. Secondly, educated discourse is likely to involve continued reference to a whole range of texts, some spoken but many written which are seen to be common currency among educated groups of people. Thirdly, it is also the kind of talk which is most like writing, certainly formal, public kinds of writing. There is therefore a mutual impact or reciprocal influence; access to written language across a range of genres, especially expository ones, makes available some

of the features for constative speech, practice in which in turn offers a bridge into students' own writing.

In short, I argue here that, due to a restricted understanding of talk in foreign language classrooms, several assumptions have tended not to be challenged. One is that the classroom should in some way try to replicate naturalistic spontaneous speech so that as (Donmall 1991:113) puts it: 'it (language) is as real to them as possible in the classroom'. The 'learning vs acquisition view' promoted by Krashen (eg. 1981), largely disowned by scholars but still wielding influence at practitioner level, has helped to foster the view that the classroom is in some way a second best environment for foreign language development. A second, related assumption has been that classroom talk is a good thing in itself, the mere provision of opportunities to speak. Thus, as noted in chapter three, many studies of classroom interaction have looked at how talk is managed without considering the talk itself qualitatively speaking. Emphasis has been on providing opportunities for practice in both accuracy and fluency activities using the kind of talk which characterises everyday contexts. Moreover the accompanying emphasis on personal, affective kinds of communication may be culturally less congenial for some groups of foreign language learners, unused to what we might call a 'confessional' style, than talk which, while it may build on the personal, is concerned with wider generalities.

In summary, there has been a relative neglect of the likelihood that many foreign language learners want and expect not replication of real-life communicative opportunities but the opportunity to engage in educated discourse, a discourse which, as Widdowson (personal communication) observes is generalisable to further learning and is, in Bernstein's terms, (Bernstein 1996: 171/172) vertical rather than horizontal. That is, it involves the creation of a reservoir of strategies by members of the classroom community rather than of individual repertoires developed by a member 'in response to a particular habitat (op cit: 171). It is also, I argue here, a discourse strongly mediated by access to written texts.

Therefore, the concern in this chapter and in chapter seven is to consider not simply how opportunities to speak were created by teacher and tasks around texts, and taken up by students but to look at student and teacher contributions

qualitatively, to judge the extent to which they can be said to display characteristics of educated discourse.

This is a tall enough order, as ways of looking at cognitive richness, as opposed to structural complexity (cf. chapter 3.7) are hard to come by. Even if we accept that the enterprise is intellectually feasible - (Bourdieu, for instance claims (1991:53) that what we call 'educated speech' has merely market not inherent value), we are still left with the task of making judgements about what might constitute qualitatively rich talk especially when, as Van Lier (1988:10) notes 'the amount of cognitive work is ..not directly measurable in terms of amount of language production.' Nor is it measurable by syntactic complexity as I argued with reference to the work of Skehan and Foster (1995) in chapter three: embedding and subordination is likely to feature in complex argument but may accompany a vacuity of content. This is, arguably one difficulty with the 'T Unit analysis' which took account of numbers of conjoined main and subordinate clauses (cf Allwright 1988: 219). My interest is in embeddedness or subordination, not merely formally but lexicosemantically to serve the purpose, for instance, of elaborating or offering explanations. Part of entering into educated discourse involves understanding the principles of explicitness and elaboration which underpin it, but more than a mere token display of these is required. The difficulty of establishing what kind of language use is mere verbiage and what is facilitative of complex thinking - and therefore to be valued as inherent to academic endeavour - is at the centre of the debate between Labov and Bernstein, alluded to in chapter four.

Even harder then is it to make plausible judgements about the degree to which talk might be said to be 'critical' in the sense the term is used in this thesis. I attempt to elaborate below.

6.4 Approaches to Data Analysis

The approach taken here is not to make judgements in the first instance about the quality of individual contributions, cognitively or critically/cognitively speaking, but to see literate talk or educated discourse as characterising communities of speakers rather than individuals. This involves looking at the data as examples of

effective or ineffective interaction, not merely in the pragmatic sense of how turntaking was achieved and the provision of equal opportunities to speak, but at the extent to which the classroom discourse, as managed by the teacher, maximised opportunities for students to present points of view and elaborate arguments, drawing on rich linguistic and cultural resources and the collaboration and support of other members of the classroom community.

This is consistent with the aim of seeing classroom learning and knowledge as building from contributions offered by all the students and the teacher - indeed of seeing how the social impacts on the individual. For this reason, chapter seven will look at selected interactions around texts while the subsequent chapter will consider individual students and speculate on ways in which they have internalised some of the socially acquired language and are engaging in an interior dialogue, influenced by the dialogue fostered within the classroom community and the dialogic view of the reading of texts which the course aimed to promote.

The three key episodes presented in the next chapter aim to show the extent to which the class develops in critical awareness through talk around texts. This goal is premised on a need for educators, if not philosophers or sociologists, to address issues of quality and growth of understanding and thinking, as revealed, at least partly, through interactively constructed classroom talk; more specifically to chart any changes in how the interaction is structured, eg. through adjustments to turntaking and the building of conceptual knowledge. In particular, because this impacts on the aim of developing a rational speech community which involves mutual respect and equal valuing of contributions, attention will be paid to the way the teacher is able or willing to relinquish power in the conduct of the interaction, keeping in mind the view that while there are legitimate forms of power in the teacher's gift, there are equally unsustainable and unproductive ones, certainly in light of the aim of moving towards some Habermasian ideal of unconstrained contributions. How then is rational consensus achieved? On what basis are points of view or more extended arguments accepted or rejected? More specifically in what ways, if any, do students draw on the linguistic metalanguage introduced through the Hallidayan framework, to support their textual analyses?. Finally, are the students enabled to locate specific analysis and

interpretation of texts in wider contexts of production and reception, to be sensitive to the cultural siting of texts, in ways argued for in chapter two?

Overall the view is that complex, critical thinking is not triggered merely by the inherent complexity of the task but cumulatively, intertextually and above all, socially. In short, I am taking a social, critical view of talk, which addresses issues of both quality and equality; where the emphasis is on the process of enquiry rather than the uncovering of answers.

6.5 Questions to Guide the Classroom Analysis

Specific questions, consistent with the overall goals are:

1) To what extent is the discussion genre maintained, allowing for the fact that a classroom setting will differ from those where discussants are readily acknowledged, at least in principle, to have equality of rights to speak?. To what degree is it possible, - or desirable - for the teacher to relinquish in part the conventional control over rights to speak and topic selection, so that there is greater than usual approximation to the unconstrained form of debate which is a precondition of constative speech?. At the same time, what mechanisms are used for distributing turns? Question types might be considered here in the sense that teacher questions frequently function as a way of controlling and allocating turns; they are managerial rather than substantive in furthering mutual enquiry. Is any space available for students to self-select, and if so, what function do such self-selections typically serve? Of interest in establishing the degree of equality in debate are expressions of agreement or disagreement with other group members and how conflicts or differences of interpretation are resolved. And of particular relevance to the critical tenor of the interactions will be the occurrence and nature of certain kinds of challenge, whether to texts, student to student and student to teacher.

2) How willing are the participants, especially the students, to give opinions at all, to make value judgements? Adults frequently volunteer opinions about what they think but many experiences of schooling will not have encouraged young people to voice

points of view in considered reflective ways; to take personal responsibility for views. Bernstein (1996: 115) quotes research by Faria (1984) which looks at the way different social groups 'project their sense of self in the language they use'; there is, it is implied, a variable preparedness or ability to voice opinion in particular kinds of ways. If this is so, then we might expect some students in a culturally diverse class such as this to experience difficulty with an expectation to project self in argument. This raises a dilemma for a commitment to a pedagogy which is predicated on such a requirement. Space and time need to be provided for different voices to emerge, not necessarily in the classroom interaction at all, but through other media, such as, in this case, student diaries, questionnaires and interviews. In this sense, discussion extends beyond the classroom. The view taken here is that, however differently articulated, an awareness of personal judgements and values, and how these may differ from those of others, is key to participating in argument, ultimately leading to an enriched view of autonomy by which an awareness of self emerges out of social interaction.

Arguably too, a maturity of thinking is indicated by an awareness and acknowledgement of uncertainty and ambiguity. As Clegg (1992:16) notes: 'good learning talk...manifests an underlying cognitive stance of uncertainty or tentativeness'. Thus, rather than looking to enhanced fluency as indicative of growing critical awareness, it may be more appropriate to consider the degree to which students are prepared to tolerate and to voice uncertainty in their respective contributions to class debate. Important too is the degree to which - and the manner in which - the teacher offers her own reflective observations, which may at times appear to be rambling and inconclusive rather than insightful. Such instances, observable in the data described in chapter seven, bear different interpretations. One is that the teacher is simply confused and incoherent! Another, however, is that a greater degree of tentativeness, which is likely to accompany spontaneity, signals her assumption of author role, in Goffman's (1981) terms, rather than one of animator or principal; that is she is playing an active role as a coparticipant in enquiry as opposed to using her turns to reformulate students' contributions - animating them in that sense, - or to impose forms of knowledge or ways of doing things as principal.

3) A further question relates to the manner in which the class participants, both teacher and students, support their views? What kind of rational argument is presented? A feature of constative, exploratory talk is that people do not simply express feelings or opinions but elaborate upon them. In constative discourse it is understood that any claims made must be open to dispute if there is a challenge to truth or truthfulness. There is an expectation of a need to defend positions and clarify if requested; in short not to assume that one's own texts are transparent. Equally, if a view is problematic does the teacher or other students offer reasons to support any objection made and help the student clarify his or her position? Finally -most important for the interests of this study - how do students' contributions build on each others to enhance each others' arguments?

4) What resources do learners draw on culturally and linguistically (cf Mercer 1995a:30) ? Such resources may be of different kinds and levels. They may be drawn from students' own experience; personal anecdotes can resonate with the comparable experiences of other class members; they can constitute 'memorable moments' in Mercer's (1995b) terms. One student in the Critical Reading class, Yukako, in an exchange preceding the feedback episode in Week 14 (cf. chapter seven: episode 3) offered in the following sequence this unsolicited account of what she felt was the use of racist language:

CW: Yes, if you say 'nigger' ..that would be a very shocking word. Negro less so. Because of the way these words..because all words have a history you see, and that history is changing of course...There are disagreements. There was a Conservative politician on television the other day saying it didn't matter what you call people but I think if you say that to most black people.. I mean sometimes Japanese and Chinese people are called rude, rude names aren't they..

Yukako: Oh yeah. I was called erm face to face .. the English officer called me 'Jap'

CW: Really

Y: Yeah. I was very offended but because I was just in front of, you know, going through immigration, so I didn't say anything..

CW: So how did it come up then, what did he actually say?

Y: Um, I don't know. He was standing behind other immigration officer, she was dealing with me and then he just erm, he looked very bossy, and he just took all the paperwork and he said, erm, something like, and then said: 'Oh this Jap' and this was very offending to me' (cf. Appendix Three: lesson fourteen)

Small group work in particular can provide opportunities for the sharing of cultural resources in the interpretation of problematic concepts. One such was the notion of 'childminder' which was key to an understanding of the text discussed in episode three (cf 5.14 and 7.4). In the extract below two students, Yang Yang and Virginia, strive towards some understanding of the criterial defining features of the English word by reference to comparable phenomena in their own respective cultural settings:

V: Is there a difference between childminder and babysitter?

Y: Uhu

V: Do you have childminders?

Y: We have farm girls, from countryside, from the countryside and but.. really take care of one child..

V: one child

Y: and lives with someone's family,the difference is not so.. in China, babysitter lives with the family, and paid by the family without any certificate, registrations '

Resources are also provided by the classes themselves; students refer intertextually and interdiscoursally, as Virginia does in chapter seven: episode three, where she comments: 'this is like the Noddy text..'. This kind of observation might be accompanied by metalanguage explicitly introduced during the course, such as, for example, terms such as 'genre' and 'model reader' and 'intertextuality' - concepts introduced to develop contextual awareness of the cultural milieu in which texts arise; what texts mean culturally and politically in their contexts of production and reception. The aim of the first phase of the course was specifically to raise this kind of macro awareness, of the cultural situating of texts and literacy practices.

In addition a key requirement of this particular course was the need to adduce various kinds of linguistic evidence to support interpretations of texts. Thus, a further question relates to the degree of specificity with which students are able to draw on linguistic terminology which relates to lexicogrammatical features of texts. Moreover,

is the linguistic analysis offered for its own sake in tokenistic or display fashion or is it put to use in furthering rich and insightful interpretation?

Finally, the critical perspective embraces all of these, because critical language awareness as defined in this thesis involves gaining distance from one's own point of view or perspective relative to others and, in the more specific sense, of being able to offer informed comment on the effect of linguistic choices within the text. We might expect, that is, a continual shift of focus, out to the wider parameters of the contexts in which texts arise and are variously read and commented upon, narrowing in to the examination of the linguistic features of specific texts.

In short, do the students envisage kinds of social identity and interpretations other than their own? Do they make reference to texts and parts of texts and to other texts introduced in the course of the class in critical, not merely unproblematic ways?. Moreover to what extent are the contributions cumulatively, not just individually, critical?

More specifically, is there any evidence that students and teacher are able not just to critique the texts but to gain greater awareness of the possible interestedness of their own observations, thus moving beyond metacognitive to what I have called metacritical awareness? We might expect to find this level of awareness emerging not during the lessons as such, but during occasions at some distance from the class, where there is opportunity for learners to reflect on the nature of their own evolving awareness. With this in mind, I revisit this notion in chapter eight which looks at students' commentary on texts and their own learning beyond the classroom setting.

6.6 The Teacher's Role

What is the teacher's role over and above that of a co - participant in the discourse? The teacher is clearly responsible for the overall structure of the course and the classes and episodes that constitute it. However, within the inevitable constraints imposed at an institutional and wider sociocultural level, the teacher has options in the manner in which she interprets her role. In Goffman's (1981) terms, teacher and students do not embark on any form of classroom interaction on an equal 'footing'. Goffman uses the term 'footing' to mean (1981:28) an 'alignment we take up

to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance'. In chapter two I introduced this same principle as related to the reader's alignment to a written text, drawing on Widdowson's (1992) adaptation of Goffman's roles of reader as animator, author or principal. But, as Kramsch (1993:38) notes, the notion of footing usefully allows us also to think of the roles we take on in the classroom - whether as teachers or learners - as shifting and flexible within the inevitable, wider constraints. In Goffman's terms teachers are necessarily 'principals' much, if not most of the time, in the sense that the authority of what they say is a function of their institutionally ascribed status as teachers. However they might shift role to become either animators or authors, that is they might animate the classroom material, such as by reading from a coursebook (less relevant in the case of this study) or they may speak with an other than professional identity - and become 'authors' of their utterances - as for example in what Kramsch (1993:40) calls 'side-plays'. An example of such sideplay where the shared identity as women of teacher and students comes to the fore, is in the following extract from Episode One of the data:

Blanca: Its for men especially, because its like men are in politics, they know more about the war, what's going on

Mirja: They're supposed to know more

Blanca: Yes, they're supposed

CW: Yes

Blanca: And the language is quite difficult as well, I mean

CW: And men can understand more difficult language, you think?

Blanca: No, I don't think so, but they may think so (laughs)

How does the teacher interpret her role in more specific pedagogic ways? Does she model behaviour in introducing the genre and subgenres?. How transparently does she set out the rules of the game? As Mercer says (1995a:31) 'teachers scaffold their students' understanding of and entry into educated discourse'. However, rather than offering scaffolding, the teacher might be better described as

imposing closure, restricting rather than opening up opportunities for critical talk around text. Is there any shift over time so that some control is handed over to the students, with the teacher interpreting her role within the discussion genre more as an equal participant in enquiry, or is a tight rein maintained throughout, signalled, for instance by an unchanging structure to each class?

Moreover it is not just what the teacher does but when. An intervention might be a facilitating move on one occasion but obstructive on another. Reformulations are a good example of this. They might, for instance, be redundant and vacuous, as, I would claim, is the case in example one below; or they might more productively bring threads of the discussion together, reminding students of some key principles at the same time, as in example two:

Example one

CW: OK. Virginie thinks it does make sense. Would you like to say what the sense is?

V: Yes, it does. It does, because the car is a super car

Example two

CW (responding to the interpretations of two students) Thank you. That's interesting. You were taking slightly different views. I think both are true in a funny sort of way because texts can mean two things at the same time. Let's remember that, because this is where language is so complex.

The nature of evaluative comments will also vary. Young (1992:101) talks of evaluative comments such as 'good' and 'right', etc. as relating to 'this is what I wanted you to do' rather than being a response to the substantive points being made. What one tends to get is a fudging in terms of any kind of helpful or constructive feedback, as the evaluative comments become weakened with overuse and are likely to seem merely phatic. One student, Sylvia had an interesting - and critical - comment to make on what she felt was the anodyne and unconstructive comment offered in one class of mine. She commented in the final evaluation form:

'I'd like to say something typically English, because here everything you say is always right and a good idea. With English people (teachers especially) you always feel you do very good. Why don't they tell you the truth when you're wrong? That would help

you and not upset you. That's a shame sometimes we've not been told enough what we were saying wasn't exactly right...this feeling of english people using euphemism and not saying the truth is a feeling foreign people have when they come to England. And I think a critical view of what we say wouldn't be a bad idea'

6.7 Tools for Analysis

Consistency of approach would recommend the selection of Hallidayan systemic/functional grammar for analysis of the classroom interaction, as this was the basis of the text analysis carried out by the students in the class. Halliday (1994, Appendix 1) offers a very detailed analysis, clause by clause, of an interaction between a new sales assistant in a jewelry store and her manager, choosing to make the analysis more manageable by looking only at the main interlocutor. Here I have opted for a partial, highly selective analysis on the grounds that comprehensive analysis is firstly not feasible (it would, for instance, be very difficult to convey an adequate account of paralinguistic non-verbal features even if video material were available); secondly any account of linguistic features requires an accompanying gloss as to the significance of their use. Merely to note, for instance, the numbers of occurrences of mental process verbs is less enlightening for the purposes of evaluating the effectiveness of learning and teaching processes, than a consideration of their role in the overall discourse. My concern is less with itemising instances of language use than with trying to uncover patterns of language choice within and across the three episodes selected for scrutiny in chapter seven. The aim is to offer an account which illuminates or brings into relief the aspects of discourse relevant to the wider interests of the study and the specific questions asked above. The analysis is tailored to an interest in these aspects of the interactions:

1. the social collaborative construction of meaning
2. the ways in which the discourse develops both interpersonally and ideationally

3. the manner in which students are able to maximise the cultural and linguistic resources at their disposal to reveal awareness of language practices and processes and their ideological implications and effects.

Focus on interpersonal features of the episodes, relating to concern with equality, will involve scrutiny of patterns of turntaking and mood, specifically the function of types of questions while focus on quality involves consideration of ideational features such as conjunctive relations which serve to elaborate, extend or enhance argument.

6.7.1 Turntaking

The first feature selected for description and evaluation, turntaking, derives from work in pragmatics, in particular Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974); however it relates to both the interpersonal and textual functions, in Hallidayan functional grammar. Turntaking is part of mode in that the patterning of respective contributions in interaction to a large degree helps to construct a spoken text and make it generically recognisable. That is, classroom discourse is conventionally defined by a clear sequence of moves - initiation, response, feedback, IRF in Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) terms ; Lemke (1990) uses the term 'triadic structure' to describe the manner in which some kind of teacher feedback or evaluation is *de rigueur*, during certain kinds of episodes at least. Any significant departure from this structure is textually marked, and may even lead to discomfort or disorientation on the part of students, a feeling that we have left the classroom genre altogether. At the same time teacher/pupil exchanges are also interpersonally significant in what they may reveal about power differential regarding allowable kinds of contribution, who speaks what, how and when. Indeed issues of power were central in Sacks' et al initial conceptualisation of the manner in which turntaking operated in conversation. The marking for power will be clearly even more striking in classroom discourse where opportunities to take and hold the floor are inherently unequal. The way in which participants perceive the classroom episode, or subgenre will impact on what kinds of interpersonal contributions are seen to be appropriate. Do students feel, for instance,

that each contribution they offer has to be validated by feedback from the teacher, in the IRF or triadic model? Or is knowledge constructed laterally - at least on occasion - with students' spontaneously building on each others' turns?

In the analysis in chapter seven turns are identified in ways appropriate to classroom discourse; thus, for instance, as is often pointed out, it would be highly marked for partners in conversation to offer evaluations of an interlocutor's contributions, as happens typically in the classroom. The turns will be described in the commentary on the episodes in terms of those which offer the floor and those which take the floor. As the teacher, by virtue of her status and her role in the classroom event, initially has the floor - and indeed might choose to keep it throughout - what is of interest is the manner in which she concedes it to the students. The use of certain kinds of questions is one typical way of doing this. Conversely students have no automatic floor rights; what is therefore of interest is the manner in which they take the floor, especially in cases of unsolicited turns. In the analysis in chapter seven I shall consider how the kinds of options exercised in the course of both offering the floor and taking the floor affect the overall turntaking patterns in the lesson.

6.7.2 Question Types

Closely related to patterns of turntaking are mood and modality. These features of the tenor of interaction will clearly intersect with the way in which turns are exchanged. Question types will be specifically focused on here as indicative of both equality and quality of the interaction; equality in the sense that the occurrence and function of questions can reveal the extent to which the participants are equal partners in discussion; quality in the sense that questions on the part of both students and teacher can offer a window on certain kinds of cognitive processing and critical challenge. Studies of questions in the classroom have a long history. However, many of them are unilluminating because, as Young (1992) notes, they tend to associate surface form with function, neglecting the pragmatic principle that 'function is a product of contextualised interpretation by participants. Form is only one clue to this' (Young: op cit:91). It is for this reason that this study, aiming to give an account of the wider context in which individual utterances are embedded, offers detailed

commentary on the role of questions and other discourse features in the episodes selected. Even then, of course, as the students'commentary on specific lessons was not invited retrospectively, my analysis cannot adequately reveal what kind of interpretation the students gave to my questions nor how their own contributions were intended.

Young (1992:100) identifies four kinds of questioning on the teachers' part: questions in which the student is being tested or assessed, questions which 'tell the questioner what she wants to know, (such as requests for practical information or managerial questions); questions where the students are asked to guess or infer often along the lines of a 'Socratic' dialogue which takes the person in the student role through the stages of an argument, - 'steering students to the envisaged answer', as Reynolds (1990:130) puts it - and, finally, questions which invite shared inquiry. The four question types are represented in figure one, where the questioner is understood as the teacher; the answerer as the student.

FIGURE ONE:

		QUESTIONER	
		already knows answer	doesn't already know
ANSWERER	answerer expected to know	1. being tested or assessed	2. telling the questioner what she wants to know
	answerer not expected to know	3. being 'Socratized' or asked to guess or infer	4. start of shared enquiry

Young makes the point of the atypicality of question 4 types. I have adapted his framework to posit three major question types which the teacher draws on, largely in the allocation of turns: managerial, substantive and exploratory. Managerial and substantive questions are broadly similar to types 2 and 3 respectively in Young's framework. Exploratory questions, analagous to Young's type 4 questions, are not simply characterised by the fact that neither questioner (ie. the teacher) nor the

answerer (the student) 'knows the answer' but by the shared assumption that answers are not necessarily discoverable.

Because of the need to look at utterances in context, caution should be exercised in labelling teacher and learner behaviour in absolute terms. However, as the data in chapter seven helps to demonstrate, there are typical accompanying features of managerial, substantive and exploratory questions. Managerial questions are to a large degree, as the term suggests, not questions at all but directives and will be responded to by some kind of student action, to include taking the floor. Substantive questions require responses to specific questions about content, in this class largely around textual features. They may take the form of what Young (op cit: 102) calls Guess What Teacher Thinks (GWTT) questions, where the teacher is pursuing a very specific agenda. A defining characteristic of exploratory questions is that they will not invite answers and may indeed be responded to with further questions. In this sense they are reciprocal. They include the kind of questions which problematise, that is pose problems, dilemmas and contradictions rather than attempt to solve them. An example from the data (Chapter 7: Episode 3) shows Yukako exploring several possibilities of interpretation thus:

'This "support" (she refers to a word used in the newspaper article headline) ...is it supporting her being racist or is it supporting her being a childmind - good childminder? We don't know that yet'

6.7.3 Expansion of Argument

The second aspect of discourse I wish to focus upon is ideational and relates to the way in which argument is developed across rather than within individual student and teacher contributions. As one kind of evidence of the quality of the discussion , I shall examine conjunctive relations within and across clauses. Motivating this selection of feature is the view, argued above, that adequate argument involves the presentation of reasons for beliefs or points of view. In particular circumstantial expansion (cf Halliday 1994:225) allows an argument to be made explicit and therefore more readily either accepted or disputed. Halliday (op cit) offers an account of expansion which includes three main types of conjunctive relations: extension, elaboration and enhancement.

6.7.3.1 Expansion: Extension, Elaboration and Enhancement

Extension:

In extension one clause extends the meaning of another by adding something new to it (Halliday 1994: op cit). This is the most common type of expansion to be found in the classroom data presented here and is exemplified by statements which introduce a further point or which are adversative. Students may extend their own or others' contributions. An example is in Episode one where Blanca offers two successive extensions to the argument around the readership of the text, the first solicited by the teacher, the second spontaneous:

Blanca: Its for men especially

Several lines later she adds:

Blanca: And the language is quite difficult as well I mean

Elaboration:

In elaboration, one clause clarifies or rewords what has preceded it. Teacher reformulations are good examples of moves which may aim to sum up, put more clearly what a student has been saying. An example from Episode one is:

CW: so, we've got an educated reader, someone with political and economic power and male

(chapter 7: episode 1, turn 17)

Enhancement:

Cases of enhancement are evident where one clause qualifies another by reference to time place or cause. Most relevant in discursive talk are clauses which offer reasons for beliefs or states of affairs. An example, taken from Episode 2: turn 2 is by Silvain:

Silvain: In most articles...Mandela was referred to as the leader because he's the one who talks as if he was the brain..

A clear difficulty is that these circumstantial relations may not be made explicit through grammatical marking in discursive talk. However, salient signalling of expansion is more frequent than, for instance, in everyday, conversational talk. This is

in keeping with Mercer's point about the manner in which, in exploratory talk 'knowledge is made more publicly accountable and reasoning is more visible in the talk' (1995a: 37)

6.7.4 Evidence of Language Awareness

The final aspect of the interactions to be discussed will be the manner in which students draw on their cultural and linguistic resources, both those which they bring with them to the class and those which are developed in the course of the class. The issue of context, as noted earlier in this thesis, is complex. At the risk of oversimplifying, the analysis will look at two broad levels of awareness, the first related to awareness of wider cultural phenomena drawn from the students' own cultural experiences as well as general knowledge of the world. This wider awareness is underpinned by concepts introduced on the Critical Reading course as part of the aim to enhance cultural/contextual awareness, to include: awareness of the context of production and reception of texts, knowledge of readerships and understanding of the way in which texts are institutionally shaped. At the micro level of awareness, I shall consider the degree to which students were able to make use of specific linguistic terminology in order to adduce support for their textual interpretations.

While these features are treated separately for the purposes of analysis, it is clear that they should finally be seen as in continual interplay and thematically echoed, often in lexically cohesive ways, across different lessons and episodes.

The aim of looking at episodes over time is to note any differences in the ways the classroom texts are realised from the potentially available ones. That is, do the classroom texts realise different choices ideationally and interpersonally? The decision to focus on Field and Tenor in the analysis, to the neglect of Mode, is motivated by the fact that to a large degree the Mode is given. There is a predictability, textually speaking, to the episodes, so that they are generically recognisable. However, it will be argued that adjustments to interpersonal and ideational aspects of the discourse, noticeable over the three episodes will also impact on the genre.

Of particular interest are cases which go against the grain of typical classroom discourse as presented in other studies and that are also atypical of this class. As

Young (1992:76) puts it: 'The optional components (of genres) ...may be crucial in analysing the critical potential of them' In sociolinguistic terms these cases would be termed 'marked', incidents of language use which are noticeable because of their low frequency in the kind of speech situation or social relationship under observation. One needs to be careful in making claims that the infringement of normal rules of discourse, in this case classroom interaction, necessarily signals some kind of qualitative advance in the tenor of the teaching setting. For example, lapses in usual turntaking procedure might equally indicate the teacher's loss of control of the proceedings. Nonetheless, atypical occurrences can also signal the potential for change in positive ways, - change in the way both interpersonal meanings and ideational meanings unfold in classroom discourse. A key question therefore is one which, as argued earlier, is central to critical analysis and critical pedagogy: how could things be different? The challenge is to taken for grantedness; while the domain of schooling will necessarily exercise behavioural and linguistic constraints, what spaces can be opened up to facilitate critical enquiry around texts in the classroom?

CHAPTER SEVEN: TALK AROUND TEXTS: THE ANALYSIS OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION

7.1 Introduction

The three episodes presented in this chapter feature the final part of the reading sequence described in chapter two (2.2.1.1), in that the students have first surveyed the text (longer texts will have been read at home in preparation for the class); they have then analysed the texts in pairs or groups, using the procedures described in chapter five. The episodes offered here, which directly follow the analysis, are designed to provide opportunities for further and fuller responses to texts in the wider interpretative setting of the whole class.

As noted in chapter six my focus in the classroom analysis is on equality of interactional opportunities, quality of talk and the assessment of the degree and kind of knowledge about language which the students display. Before presenting the analysis I shall briefly revisit these issues under the headings used in the commentary on the classroom interaction episodes: **TENOR**, **FIELD** and **FEATURES WHICH SIGNAL AN AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND USE**.

TENOR: the key question is: how far is it possible within the constraints of a classroom setting to move somewhat towards reciprocity in teacher student exchanges in order to acknowledge the principle of equality of contributor rights in discussion?. Even though the eventual goal may be the modification of conventional teacher/learner roles, orthodoxies must first be acknowledged. Therefore, in the first instance, it is fruitful to look at teacher and student interactional turns from different perspectives in keeping with the different discourse roles institutionally ascribed to teachers and learners in classroom settings. One clear difference, as noted in chapter six, is that the teacher has the floor. To whom, how and when she offers it up is entirely in her gift. She can exercise various options as to how she opens up spaces for learner contributions. For the students the exercise of options relates to the manner in which they **take** the floor. It is through the resulting turntaking patterns that the overall classroom tenor is largely established. Of particular interest are occasions which go against the grain of typical classroom discourse, which, for

instance, infringe the general rule (cf. chapter six) that student turns will be specifically solicited by the teacher and that some kind of IRF structure will prevail.

FIELD: the key question is : how is reasoning and reflectiveness made visible in teacher and student judgements through the manner in which they expand on the points of view expressed and the claims made? More particularly, what evidence is there of the joint construction of understanding and knowledge?

LANGUAGE AWARENESS: the key question under this heading is : what evidence is there that the students are drawing on their existing resources, both linguistic and cultural, and developing new ones to gain greater awareness of the manner in which language, both as a phenomenon in the real world and as used within specific texts, reinforces or challenges prevailing ideologies? What tools do students use to articulate awareness at both a macro level, related to awareness of the context of production and reception of texts, as well as at the micro level, related to the ability to offer specific warrant for interpretations?

Notes on the extracts:

1. The turns are numbered for ease of reference. The literature on turn-taking notes the difficulty of establishing what constitutes a turn, as opposed to a supportive interjection. Here I have not counted as turns those occasions where a speaker 'talks across' another contribution, - especially where it forms a minimal response,- and does not specifically acknowledge it.
2. I have simplified transcription conventions so that while the transcription aims for a faithful record of what was said, minor hesitations and overlaps are omitted. Traditional punctuation is used and overlapped turns are signalled by a square bracket. Rapidly succeeding turns are indicated by a series of dots...at turn end.
3. The episodes are each about 15 to 20 minutes in length and were selected from weeks 4, 9 and 14 respectively of the 15 week course. To make the analysis more

manageable and consistent in length the latter sections of the episodes 1 and 3 have not been included. In those episodes there were students present who do not contribute during the period of these transcripts. The episodes were recorded with students speaking into the microphone. The texts around which the talk centres are reproduced in Appendix Two. Full transcripts of the 3 lessons of which the episodes form part are offered in Appendix Three.

7.2 Week Four POWER AND CONTROL: Readerships

Students in this Episode are : Mirja, from Germany, Blanca, from Spain, Domingo, from Spain, Virginia, from Spain, Yukako, from Japan and Xavier, from Spain.

1 CW: This worked quite well last time..Are you ready in each pair or group just to say something because as I went round I heard people ..people were making some very interesting points about this text. Alright, so who's going to start, who's going to start here?

2 Woman: We will.

3 CW: Yeah, I've forgotten your name already.

4 Woman: Mirja.

5 CW: Mirja. Alright. Everybody listen because ssshh, at this..Xavier.. at this point...ssshh ssshhh.. Could you all listen now because I'm going to record people's responses and see how far we reacted in the same way. Mirja first. A few minutes each.

6 Mirja: (laughter) Oh God. Alright. We don't think that the reader should be..is an educated readership because you need, you need to have some political knowledge if you want to understand this advertisement because otherwise it is just impossible - like with the, especially the sentence on the second page, "not merely a struggle for power but a struggle against power".

CW: Yes, yes.

M: The Lenin sentence. And um..what else did we say? Ah, this, the reader should have some money anyway, I think. So, I mean if you read the Guardian you're more educated as well and you have maybe a little bit more power - like economic or political power or you are influenced in these things and um. what else did we say? Oh God I don't know any more.

- 7 CW: Anything else you want to add? That's good so far.
- 8 Blanca: Well, its for men especially, because its like men are in politics, they know more about the war, what's going on, I mean its ...
- 9 M: ...they're supposed to know more.
- 10 B: Yeah, well, they're supposed (general laughter)
- 11 CW: Yes....you always..yes ...
- 12 B: And the language is quite difficult as well I mean...
- 13 CW: And men can understand more difficult language, you think?
- 14/15 [B: (laughs) No, I don't think so but they may think so
[CW: Yes, this came up I think in that ..in
- 16/17 [B: especially compared with..
[CW: Yes, when you look at the other one (another advertisement) - that makes the contrast doesn't it? I think some of you had the chance to look at this one, which is, you can see, clearly for women - the heart shape and so on. So, we've got an educated reader, someone with political and economic power and male. Let's move on and see if we can... Thank you very much. That's good. Domingo.
- 18 Domingo: Well, we have the same thing as them - I mean,you know, intellectual and all that, political, maybe male - we agree with that. And just to say two more things: it employs technical speech, a little bit of technical speech to give security to the potential buyer I think er-when it says all this about 'inlet manifold fuel injection -I don't know if the common reader knows about that - what do you think? (pause) When you think about 'manifold fuel injection' you have to be into the matter to know about that, so it gives importance, I mean it gives security to the potential reader. (hesitates and looks at notes made with the help of his partner) I believe that the whole advertisement doesn't make sense at all (general laughter) and I think they do that on purpose. I think they do that on purpose because that way...
- 19 Virginia: It does. It makes sense
- 20 Blanca: It makes sense
- 21 D: It makes sense? The whole thing?
- 22 Virginia: It makes sense. Yes very clear
- 23 CW: Christine is it?

- 24 V: No, Virginia
- 25 CW: Virginia, I meant Virginia
- 26 D: I wish everybody could explain to me
- 27 CW: OK Virginia thinks it does make sense.
- 28 V: Yes it does
- 29 CW: So would you like to say what the sense is?
- 30 V: It does, because the car is a super car. Its a powerful car, so its like a big enterprise, like a country. Lenin, applying his principle, was not able to manage the political system in his country and he fell, but you, applying this system, and being responsible, and with control, you can control this super car.
- 31 CW: Who is 'you' by the way? when you say: 'you can control'?
- 32 V: The man..(hesitates) the economic power, you know
- 33 CW: The male reader?
- 34 V: I don't know why 'male' because I didn't find anything but you get that feeling ...
- 35 B: ... yeah you get that feeling ...
- 36 V: ...that its a man. I was looking for something here that would tell me that it was a man, the reader, but I couldn't find anything but you have that feeling.
- 37 CW: This is what we're going to try and do you know, when we look at the language: we get a feeling about something. What is it in the language that gives us this. I think over here if I can get the microphone ..I don't know whether its working . you had some thoughts didn't you. You were saying..?
- 38 Yukako: Pardon?
- 39 CW: You were saying...she's shy (laughing) that you picked out some of the vocabulary that gave you the impression of a male reader.
- 40 Y: Oh yes, I thought especially the phrase, it says: A 16 valve 2 litre power plant with variable inlet manifold fuel-injection.

- 41 CW; Yes, yes, you see its not just 'manifold fuel injection' It's that whole phrase isn't it? It's a whole noun clause, isn't it: 'a 16 -you can hardly say it - a 16 valve 2 litre power plant with variable inlet manifold fuel injection'. That's all one noun phrase. But why does that suggest masculinity to you?
- 42 Y; Because its about car and if you're talking about car maniac its normally a male. For example, my brother is crazy about cars (laughs) - I mean automatically, its indicate to me its about men.
- 43 CW: You mean the level of technical detail perhaps yes.
- 44 CW: You don't agree? (addressed to Virginia)
- 45 V: I mean all the advertisements about cars they all have to talk about technical things..the new things that the car offers.
- 46 Xavier: not always
- 47 CW: Well, look at the other one, does the other one?
- 48 Various: No
- 49 CW: No...I think .. that is why I gave you this - I think you'll find ..does it mention any technical details at all? 'Side impact beams' I mean, its not so specific is it?
- 50 Mirja: They don't even say how many miles per hour
- 51 CW: No, no. I mean. In fact it's all a sort of play on words, did you notice that? It's like assuming your car is like a boyfriend. Did you get the joke with the other one? This is how you sell cars to women. You see, if you sell cars to men you have to be serious.

Comment:

1. TENOR OF DISCOURSE:

TEACHER TURNS: offering the floor

The majority of teacher questions or prompts which offer students the floor, are managerial serving to structure the episode overall. They tend to function as polite directives eg. 'you were saying'?. 'so who's going to start?' and 'Anything else you have to add'? 'Would you like to say what the sense is? The latter question in turn 29 is gratuitous, as Virginia is about to offer her interpretation of the text quite

spontaneously. She has already claimed the floor with a direct challenge to Domingo in turn 19. The question in turn 29 follows a redundant, -even obstructive - intervention on the teacher's part: 'Ok Virginia thinks it does make sense.', an unconscious desire to broker the exchange between Domingo and Virginia. In addition, there are several tag questions - also broadly managerial - which do not offer spaces for students to respond and which can be counted as phatic. They serve to smooth the interaction between students and teacher. Examples are in turns 17: 'that makes the contrast doesn't it' and in turn 41: 'its a whole noun phrase isn't it?.'

Only a minority of turns consist of what I have called substantive questions on the grounds that they invite engagement with the text analysis, begin to deal with more substantive issues of content and push the interaction forward. Examples are: 'who is you by the way? When you say 'you can control'(turn 31) and: 'and why does that suggest masculinity to you' (turn 41)

STUDENT TURNS: taking the floor

The majority of student turns are responses to the teacher and therefore what I have called solicited turns. They are obligatory in the discourse, as a failure to respond to a specific cue would be seen as highly uncooperative. Yukako has to at least say 'pardon' (turn 38) as she initially resists being selected to talk. In short the student turns are largely reactive.

Marked, and therefore more interesting cases, arise when students offer unsolicited turns such as: Mirja (turn 9) 'they're supposed to know more' and Virginia: (turn 19) 'It does. It makes sense'. Domingo is the only student who subverts the norm by which the teacher holds rights to the distribution of turns. He himself solicits a turn from the teacher, when he directly addresses her with a question; 'what do you think?' in turn 18. Significantly, this is not answered, arguably making the point that departures from normal student teacher interaction may simply not be heard, that they will be 'monitored out'. A bid to engage on more equal terms is thereby thwarted.

Later in turn 26, Domingo addresses the whole group with: 'I wish everybody (ie. somebody) could explain to me' This kind of solicitation of a response from the whole group is again a move which is much more typical of the teacher.

TURNTAKING PATTERNS: There is some evidence, though it can only be suggestive in this small stretch of discourse, that atypical turn contributions open up opportunities for sequences which disrupt the IRF or triadic pattern. Some of these, as noted in chapter six, might be called 'sideplays' (Kramsch 1993: 40) in the sense that they do not move the interaction forward but, in their echoing of the immediately prior contribution, appear to contribute to the solidarity of the encounter, offering some mitigation of teacher power. An example of this, in turns 8 - 14, shows a series of rapidly exchanged turns where Mirja, Blanca, and CW offer mutual solidarity (we know what men are like!) A similar overlapped sequence, shortly afterwards, in turns 16/17, further shows how overlappings can be interpreted as offering solidarity as much as an indication of interruption. The tenor of the discourse becomes more egalitarian, largely because the teacher is adjusting footing, as suggested in 6.5, to take on an authorship role, relaxing if not abandoning her role of principal in the classroom discourse as a whole. However rather than conceding the floor to Blanca at this stage, to allow her to point out the contrast with 'the other text', CW asserts control to retake the floor.

2 FIELD OF DISCOURSE:

Expansion of teacher argument: I observed in 6.4 that the teacher's shared reflections can promote higher quality discussion. However there is little evidence of reflective participation from CW here. Rather than entering into the debate, the teacher frequently uses her turns metadiscoursally, acting very much as principal in Goffman's term, in order to locate the present discussion within her wider brief for the course, eg: in turn 37 'This is what we're going to try and do..' and in turn 49 'This is why I gave you this..' The longer turns are used to make categorical statements, which are not supported by argument, eg: in turn 17 (talking of the other advertisement) 'some of you had the chance to look at this one, which is, you can see, clearly for women - the heart shape and so on.' Teacher evaluations do not refer substantively to the quality of the student's argument, so much as impose closure on an exchange, eg. 'That's good so far' in turn 7. This is the kind of statement which neither offers convincing evidence to the student that he/she has made a good contribution nor adds

qualitatively to the ongoing argument. It is likely to be interpreted as merely vacuous or phatic. In contrast, the sequence of turns towards the end of this extract offers stronger scaffolding with substantive questions which invite students to enhance argument.

Expansion of student argument: Students have in general recognised the need to offer justification for the judgements they wish to make, through expansion. An example is Virginia's enhancement and elaboration of her case in turn 30 . Of greater relevance to my interest in the collaborative construction of argument are cases of joint scaffolding which occur largely through extension. Examples are: turn 8 where Blanca adds to Mirja's contribution, elaborating as she does on her reasons for positing a male readership. This point is then elaborated, that is qualified spontaneously, without teacher intervention, by Mirja's: 'they're supposed to know more'. In turn 12 Blanca extends by offering new information regarding the difficult language. CW deliberately, half humourously misinterprets this as an enhancement, - that is she assumes a cause/effect relationship, unintended by Blanca, who gets the joke and laughs.

A further example of unmediated extension is Virginia's adversative response to Domingo in turn: 19 'It does. It makes sense' This feature reoccurs later when Virginia intervenes, through a non-verbal signal, to disagree with CW, in turn 44, opening up spaces for Xavier and Mirja to present opinions which in turn oppose hers.

3 FEATURES WHICH SIGNAL AN AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND USES AT MACRO AND MICRO LEVELS: (Macrolevel awareness will be described in terms of cultural/contextual knowledge; microlevel awareness in terms of textual knowledge)

Cultural/Contextual knowledge: (to include the manner in which students inter-relate their wider knowledge of the world, their knowledge of their own and the target cultural milieu, and their awareness of the specific setting of the text):

Possibly constrained by the nature of the task which required them to consider readership, the students focus on the context of reception, rather than the context of production. Thus no reference is made to what might have motivated the choice of political discourse to carry the more expected sales discourse; in particular the students make no mention of a clearly Western, ironic/humorous stance to communism taken by the text producers through references to 'revolutionary', 'superpower' and 'the means of production'. Nor do they note the resonance it is assumed this text will carry for the contemporary reader, appearing as it did at the time of the collapse of communist regimes across Eastern Europe. The students make only very generalised reference to political discourse, through allusions to 'political system,' 'political power' and the mention of Lenin himself. They seem only to have a vague notion of Lenin's role in 20th century history, 'the war' being mentioned unspecifically by several students. Rather than considering how the discourse constructs a reader with certain political views, (assumed to be shared with the text producers) teacher and students discuss the implied reader almost entirely in terms of gender, particularly by reference to the use of technical language.

While the students attend little to the political discourse, they draw more obviously on their knowledge of the press as an institution in Britain through the introduction of newspaper readerships and the class and educational bases for them, signalled in, eg: Guardian - educated - power (the students had been told that this text appeared in The Guardian).

Several terms associated with the role of the reader are drawn on, indicating that the students are developing a concept of reader, to include not just actual, real-life reader but intended or model reader. Thus we have, forming some kind of lexical cohesion across the text from different contributors: 'the reader - readership - the reader -you (to signal one among The Guardian readership) - the potential buyer (as a reader of an advertisement) - the common reader - the potential reader'. In particular the theme: 'reader as male' is extended across the text: first introduced in turn 8 by

Blanca it re-emerges, through teacher prompting, in turn 32 with Virginia's initially hesitant; 'the man...' and is lexically cohesive over the following few turns: thus we have 'the man', 'the male reader', 'male', 'man' 'a man - the reader'.

Textual knowledge

No specific textual terms are drawn on other than ones already known by the students and in general currency, such as 'sentence' (Mirja turn 6) and 'phrase' (Yukako turn 40). CW'S own varying terminology, as in the use of both 'Noun Phrase' and 'Noun Clause' (turn 41) is likely to confuse.

7.3 Week Nine: MANDELA'S RELEASE FROM PRISON Participants and Processes

Students in the Episode are: Silvain (French, arrived since lesson 4), Sylvie, (French) Blanca (Spanish) Domingo (Spanish) Virginia (Spanish) Monica (German) Christine (German)

1 CW: (Switching on the tape recorder. General laughter) I feel a little bit like a showman, or a showwoman with this. OK, Sssh Quiet then. I heard some very interesting comments as I was going round - and lets just..they were... remember there were three questions, we can make them two in a sense: Mandela and how he's talked about, particularly in the verbs that are used and what that suggests, what impressions that gives, and then the other question was what other participants are brought into the picture, are brought into the scenario in those first few paragraphs. Can we start then with this end - Silvain, do you want to say something?

2 Silvain: In most articles, especially this (he indicates the main, larger text - no.1) Mandela was referred to as the leader because he's the one who talks um..um..as if he was the brain and then there are the followers - the arm - and the only difference was in the first paragraph where we noticed that he wasn't the subject of the sentence...

CW: This one here? yeah...

Silvain: ...as if was taken over by the events, as if he didn't control the the flow of violence.

CW: Well yes...

(Blanca signals directly to Silvain that she wishes to come in at this point, by claiming the microphone from him)

3 Blanca: I don't think so.

4 CW: You don't agree?

5 B: No

6 CW: You want to say something more about that?

7 B: I think yes they talk of him as a leader but he's the leader of a criminal gang - is like he is the baddy, no, and the black people are the baddy, er I don't know. So he is going out of the prison so he more or less implies that eh he knows what is going to happen when he's released but he doesn't care or something like that.

8 CW: Thank you thats interesting you were taking slightly - well different views but you, that..em ...

9 Silvain: ... especially the first one ...

10 CW: ... yes that in a sense is he the sort of victim of events or is he..? - I think both are true ...

General: ... yes, yes...

CW: ...in a funny sort of way eh oddly be ..because texts can mean two things at the same time. Let's remember that, there isn't you know because this is where language is so complex..so I know what Sylvain was saying -if I can come in - where it says for instance it talks about 'the release of Nelson Mandela' whereas what do the other texts say, did you notice? How do they describe...yes?

11 Virginia: In the rest of the texts he's the subject - he walks to freedom or walks out of prison or - he's the subject and there's one interesting point that Sylvie noticed: in the first text the rest of the participants are accompanied by the possessive 'his followers', his African National Congress Organisation'..'his release'. so its somehow blaming all the violence on Mandela, all the violent participants are related to Mandela explicitly.

12 CW: This is why I think both what Sylvain was saying is true and what you know both those impressions were made because it's true ' his followers' - All the way through the violence is associated with Mandela but at the same time he's not. he he's been made powerless er by because the opening subject is 'Violence and death disfigured the release of Nelson Mandela'. Good did anyone want to comment still anymore on the way Mandela is the subject of

these opening paragraphs.

We haven't had Domingo and Xavier. You're not usually shy. Do you want to add anything?

13 Domingo: Ok. About which one, this one - or this one - or which one?

14 CW: Well let's take any of them because they're different, aren't they?

15 D: OK, well it's quite interesting the beginning: 'Nelson Mandela walked to freedom yesterday straight into the fury of South Africa's shotgun-wielding police' or the police here are the baddies I think and Nelson Mandela is the goody in a way. You see 'police opened fire on a section of the welcoming crowd in Cape Town' so it's you know giving the active role to the police instead of to the black crowds and erm then after this in this one, this is a very good one, this is a very good report about what's going on - it gives relevance to the fact that..

16 CW: I think Domingo means this one (the text no. 3 from The Guardian)

17 D: Yes, this small one here, I think this is quite a good one because it gives emphasis first to the release of Mr Mandela - and it says 'Mr Mandela' which is a good treatment I think. And now this last one is unbelievable. It says 'Whites out'. It's quite violent, shocking. It says: 'Black fury erupted in South Africa yesterday as freed leader Nelson Mandela vowed' etc etc. and 'Black gang clashes' and all that. This is quite violent, shocking. And that's it.

18 CW: Ok. Thanks very much. You've moved on to talk about the other participants that are brought in. Does anyone want to say anything more about that third question: the other participants, because as Domingo noticed in this text, which I can tell you now if you didn't guess well is it from a right wing or a left wing paper do you think? This one here.

19 General: Left

20 CW: Left - It's the Daily Mirror - it's a popular left, leftist - leftish paper and we have the police coming into the picture very early on. We've, in fact we've only got I think we've got Nelson - Nelson Mandela, the crowd - millions throughout the country - and the police. Those are the three groups that are identified, would you agree?

21 General: uhu

22 CW: Does anyone want to look at how the groups, the participants are grouped together in the other texts.. we've already said a little bit about this. Anyone want to say anything more for instance about 'Whites Out' that one there?

- 23 Sylvie: The headline shocked me because 'Whites Out' for me it's a reference to something against blacks in fact, because ..it could say 'Blacks Out' and it will, would have been a racist headline and it's very shocking because ...I think that this article is racist really because of the title, because erm 'whites yes whites shot dead as Nelson says 'Keep up struggle" ..and 'whites were terrorised as young blacks er celebrated Nelson Mandela's release' All the faults are put on black people. I think you can say that you can say that its racist.
- 24 CW: Do people agree with Sylvie on this point about that fourth text in particular from the Sun - no surprise - that the participants are polarised in terms of blacks versus whites? and in fact those of you well you've looked at this text most of you what did you notice..lets take the blacks and whites as two sets of participants. Its quite interesting to look: blacks versus whites, police versus crowd, you know, to look at groups in opposition What did you notice about The Guardian text?. About the blacks versus whites?
- 25 D: This is from The Guardian?
- 26 CW: This is from The Guardian, yes.
- 27 Student: It's neutral
- 28 CW: It gives the impression of neutrality but there's a reason, a very clear reason why that is, in terms of the participants in the text, who's talked about simply (pause). Have another look at that in terms of the blacks versus whites. It's quite interesting I think. (about 20 seconds pause)
Anybody want to comment? It's pretty..
- 29 Sylvie: The crowd the crowd is called 'supporters' which is positive.
- 30 CW: Yes, very good. the crowd are supporters, which is positive, of course, not mobs..but what do you notice about the blacks and whites also.
- 31 Student: There's no opposition
- 32 CW: Christine?
- 33 Christine: Hold on a sec
- 34 CW: Hold on a sec. All right. I won't rush you.
- 35 Ch: He's more , in a way he's more em I would say compared to the others one there's more objective he just says actually whats happening and he's not like telling you that like the last one that as soon as you just have a look at it you know that, which side it is. The other ones its more more more relaxed in a way.

- 36 Monica: I think he talks about 'apartheid' and the others dont, I mean I'm not too sure.
- 37 CW: Well what I was thinking of- I don't want you to guess what's in my head - it's simpler than that really. The fact is I think in The Guardian text that blacks and whites are not mentioned at all. Maybe that was too obvious, but it's quite important that the crowd are not identified as black you know. So it's that difference in itself that I think is quite interesting. So what you get then is the opening, already in the opening you've got in the first one you've got you could argue the goodies and the ba..well Mandela and his followers versus who - who are the goodies in this one would you say this one yeh are there any goodies?
- 38 Domingo: Yeh the government.
- 39 CW: Mm who is identified with the government would you say?
- 40 Students: The police
- 41 CW: Well the police really , I think if you look through that, you'll find the police and the authorities on the one hand and, as you notice quite rightly, you've got 'Nelson Mandela, mobs of his followers, ..ran wild and looted shops' very negative connotation and very strongly active verbs collocating with 'Mandela and his followers'. Very similar to 'Masked Mob Stone Police'. You know not just verbs of material process if you look at your framework but very strong action, violent action indeed. Let's take a break.

Comment

TENOR OF DISCOURSE:

TEACHER TURNS: offering the floor:

Many of the teacher turns consist of managerial questions which select students to take the floor, through specific solicitation, eg. 'you want to say something more about that?' (turn 6). There is a reluctance to allow students to take the floor from each other, without teacher mediation. What would be striking in terms of everyday conversational discourse, but is not untypical of teacher/student interaction, is the manner in which CW appropriates or steals turns directed to others. Blanca's direct address to Silvain, accompanied by a non-verbal signal that she would like the microphone to be handed to her, is mediated by the teacher in 'you don't agree?' (turn 4). CW then, in turn 8, intercedes on Silvain's behalf. Indeed she acknowledges this

with the words: 'so I know what Sylvain was saying - if I can come in! The incident reveals the tension between a perceived need to exercise control over the classroom text and the desirability of granting students an opportunity to expand on their own and each others' texts. CW takes control of the floor and offers up the next turn to the whole group in turn 10.

While many of the questions remain managerial, there are, unlike in episode one, prompts which are not directed to specific students, eg. 'Anyone want to look at ..' (turn 22.) There are also considerably more substantive questions than in the earlier episode. However, a number of these form part of a GWTT series beginning in turn 24 with: 'What did you notice about The Guardian text about the blacks versus whites?'. The teacher is aware of - and uncomfortable about - the motivation of these questions, shown by her metacommentary on her own practice in turn 37: 'I don't want you to guess whats in my head'. One kind of question which, as argued in chapter six, has the potential to affect the overall classroom tenor, - exploratory questions - makes its appearance in turn 10 with the question: is he the sort of victim of events or is he..? Because of its exploratory nature, the question is noticeably more hesitant and ill-formed.

STUDENT TURNS: taking the floor

While several of the student turns are, as in the previous episode, responses to named solicitations, there are more cases of students' volunteering turns, which are also more extended. Virginie in turn 11 and Sylvie in turn 23 both enter a turn smoothly and unhesitatingly and talk at some length, though admittedly to a generalised question from the teacher. Blanca (turn 3) addresses her wish to qualify Silvain's comments directly to him, indicating a willingness to pursue debate in the absence of any obvious challenge and with no initial prompting from the teacher. Tentativeness reappears in the series of turns which respond to the GWTT questions, beginning in turn 24, leading to an uncharacteristically unconfident response from Monica: 'I think he talks about 'apartheid' and the others don't, I'm not too sure'.(turn 36) At least Christine resists this interrogation with the words: 'hold on a sec'! (turn 33)

TURNTAKING PATTERNS As in the earlier extract CW moves in very quickly to take the floor, as soon as students signal a turn completion. The effect of the teacher's intervention in turns 4 and 6 with the following evaluative comment in turn 8 is to restore the classic IRF pattern and to keep turn allocation in the teacher's gift. The feedback or evaluative move remains standard, the teacher claiming superior status by offering thanks for contributions.(cf. eg. turn 8). After turn 18 CW offers more open turns with eg. 'Does anyone want to say anything more about that third question?' without then adding a named solicitation. However, the final section of this episode shows a change in tenor, beginning in turn 24 with the GWTT question; 'What did you notice about The Guardian text..'? This triggers a turntaking pattern which consists of rather futile bids, which are noticeably brief and relatively unexpanded, from the students, in the attempt to come up with the expected answer.

2 FIELD OF DISCOURSE:

Expansion of teacher argument: One change from the contributions in episode one is that CW on several occasions offers authentic reflective responses to the ongoing discussion. Thus turns 10 and 12, elaborate on the points made by Silvain and Blanca, the second bringing in Virginia's extension (about the use of the possessive); these are unplanned contributions, noticeably more hesitant than earlier ones but which signal an engagement with the substantive arguments presented, to a greater degree than in early classes.

Expansion of student argument: Individually the students offer considerable expansion. Silvain in turn 2 for instance begins by enhancing his claim that Mandela is seen as the leader ('he talks as if he was the brain') and then extending with a further point which makes an exception regarding the first paragraph of Mandela text, no. 1. This point is in turn elaborated through exemplification, more particularly figurative expressions, as in: as if 'taken over by events.' Sylvie's contribution in turn 23 moves the quality of the discourse on in a critical sense by hypothesising what the effect of a different wording would have been : she justifies her judgement that the headline is

racist by inviting us to imagine the effect of a direct replacement of the words in the actual text 'whites' with 'blacks'. Most of the students indicate awareness of the need to offer explicit evidence for statements, an exception being Domingo's statement in turn 17 when he fails to elaborate on the observation: 'it says Mr Mandela which is a good treatment I think'.

One instance, not observed in the first episode, is in turn 11 when Virginia in a rare instance of the students' drawing on each other as a resource, makes specific reference to her partner's observation: 'Theres one interesting point that Sylvie noticed'

3 FEATURES WHICH SIGNAL AN AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND USES AT MACRO AND MICRO LEVELS:

Cultural/ contextual knowledge

The task is an intertextual one, in the sense that students are encouraged to note the different discourse options selected by different newspapers. This involves drawing on some background institutional knowledge about the varying political allegiances of the British press. Much of this knowledge has been introduced via analysis of news texts in earlier lessons. The students are able to recognise a broadly left stance in one of the newspaper articles. However, rather than allowing the students to articulate and develop this knowledge explicitly for themselves, CW gives the students very restricted options for comment - eg. in turn 18 'is it from a left wing or a right wing paper do you think'?

In terms of knowledge of immediate context, the students have been informed that these were all frontpage news reports of the same event on the same day. Domingo (cf. Appendix Three:lesson nine) has asked, prior to doing the analysis task, whether these items represented the first reports of Mandela's release which appeared on the same day (rather than, for example, successive ones on different days)

It is Sylvie who, in turn 24, introduces the theme of racism - although it is implicit throughout - into the discourse by way of offering a supported and elaborated judgement on one particular text. However, CW fails to build on her contribution,

pursuing a related but more specific agenda about equality of representation in a different text.

Textual Knowledge:

There are more references to specific text linguistic features than in the first episode, particularly around the key notion of the lesson: participants. Thus we have:

- he (Mandela) wasn't the subject of the sentence (turn 2)
- he's the subject (followed by exemplification) (turn 11)
- the rest of the participants are accompanied by the possessive (turn 11)
- the violent participants are related to Mandela explicitly (turn 11)

It is clear that most of these comments come from one student, Virginia, who was far more willing than other students to offer specific textual warrant for her comments. More typically, for instance, Domingo notes the effect of linguistic choices without, however, elaborating on the manner in which grammatical choices have combined to create that effect, eg. in turn 15: 'police opened fire on a section of the ..crowd' is 'giving the active role to the police' and in turn 17: 'it says Mr Mandela which is a good treatment I think'

7.4 Week Fourteen: THE CHILDMINDER Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual Meaning

The students in this episode are: Yukako, Virginia, Xavier, Monica

- 1 CW: Are we ready to have some feedback? to get some comments Some of you would seem to be saying quite a lot. Let's - what shall we begin with, it doesn't really matter. Let's begin with the ideational group. This relates you remember we can try and sort of indicate it up here (refers to OP) who who is being talked about primarily and so on so Yukako are you going to be -
- 2 Yukako: Oh yes
- 3 CW: report back on your discussion?
- 4 Y: Yes we found lots of participants here er the main participant is the council...
- 5 CW: mmm, well, I think the council, I suppose yes the council ...

- 6 Y: ...and childminder yeah, and childminder Mrs Newton and also in relation to 'support' the parents and other childminders are very important as well we thought.
- 7 CW: Yes do you want to say a bit more about why the parents come into the picture - not the children so much but the why -yes because the other noun, the noun that leads the whole article is 'support' isn't it? Do you want to say something more about it, whose support and what kind of support?
- 8 Y: Yes erm what we found confusing is a bit like erm support for what? - we are talking about. Is it .. well because this Mrs Newton's attitude ...its not so clear, - clearly said here , we don't know if she's a real racist or just doing her job as a childminder. We don't know that. We have to know that first and 'This support' meanings become a different meaning as well -is it supporting her being racist or is it supporting her being a childmind, good childminder? We don't know yet (laughs)
- 9 CW: That's very interesting yes. what evidence is there in the text for those positions do you think. or why - lets put it differently why is it ambiguous?
- 10 Virginia: She never says she's not a racist She never says that. I think she's so convinced of the way she's been brought up and everybody's been reading these stories for a long time er well maybe we're all racist and we don't realise. It's a part of our conscience - consciousness.
- 11 CW: What is racist? this is the thing...
- 12 V: and maybe the council is trying to reject this and try to try to erm separate the concepts and tell you that this is racist, I dont know.
- 13 CW: Who's trying to say that sorry?
- 14 V: The council - the Inspector, but its also funny that the Inspector is Lorrie Lane - they give us the name and also straight away they say that he is a Rastafarian.
- 15 CW: (reads from text) 'Lorrie Lane, a Rastafarian', thats right
- 16 V: Yes, its maybe they're saying that he is a - considers the toy a racist toy because he's a Rastafarian not because hes an Inspector. It's like he's not objective
- 17 CW: Mmm
- 18 V: Maybe

- 19 CW: That's an interesting point. That the first desig, desig, well it does say 'because one of its inspectors Lorrie Lane a Rastafarian' but then you might say is that relevant? Do we need to know whether he's a Rastafarian?
- 20 V: Yes, that's why - why do they say it?
- 21 CW: Sure and it's always an interesting thing when you're looking at participants, what information is selected? er and what is relevant.
- 22 V: It's like when we were talking about 'the naughty black face'
- 23 CW: Yes
- 24 V: The same
- 25 CW: yes, that's right you can make that connection Why mention something ? Because one of the ...we don't state the obvious. But what about the way the council is described? We've got the council here -it just says council, no, no article - ommitted, but when the council is mentioned again.
- 26 V: Greenwich Greenwich Council
- 27 CW: Yes we have Greenwich Council here
- 28 V: and later 'we' the pronoun 'We want a compromise... we need one before...'
- 29 CW: Right 'A council spokesman said' yes but we've also got here: the 'Labour controlled local council'
- 30 [Y: Yes yes
- 31 [V: Yes we also noticed that
- 32 CW: Do you want to say anything about that?
- 33 V: We noticed that they were saying it was Labour controlled - why do they say its Labour controlled?
- 34 CW: Again is that relevant?
- 35 V: Yes, I think that for the newspaper it is relevant
- 36 CW: Why?
- 37 V: I think they support Mrs Newton the child minder

- 38 CW: So generally you think, the general effect which is what we're interested in - the overall effect you would say is supporting Mrs Newton against...
- 39 V: I think so
- 40 CW: ... against the council?
- 41 V: I think so
- 42 CW: Anybody want to say any more about the 'Labour controlled council' -is that just innocent information perhaps or..again you need the, you need some background knowledge - and you'll just have to take my word for it here (laughs) cos I'm interpreting, my reading, you know this is my interpretation of the text er a paper like this is from this is actually its the Times wasn't it?.
- 43 [V: The Times is Conservative
- 44 [Y: The Times is Conservative yes
- 45 [Monica: The Times I think it was The Times
- 46 CW: I forgot to ask Monica an important question - why she chose this in the first place - its the Times The Times is a fairly ...
- 47/48 Y/V Conservative
- 49 CW: Conservative paper - not as much as the other - Th Standard but nevertheless there is a tendency to have an idea of what we call 'loony left' councils - you know what 'loony' means - mad - you know these extreme left wing councils who are always making a fuss about racism - you know.
- 50 CW: what happened (the Overhead Projector collapses)
- 51 V: Its a loony...machine!
- 52 CW: It's broken (laughter) Anyway, we can't use that. well er any other observations you want to make about the verbs perhaps that are used?
- 53 V; They're all mental processes - more, the majority of them
- 54 Y: It's 'offended' or 'refused'...
- 55 V: and for instance, they don't stress that the parents and the childminders wrote the letters. They say 'letters have been pouring in' - they start the sentence like that. They don't stress who is.. It's later on that you get the er - it's impersonalised. I don't know how to say it in English.

- 56 CW: Yes it is its they want to emphasise it seems to me the...
- 57 V: ... support ...
- 58 CW: ... the support. That's that's the main subject perhaps you found that in looking at the textual features. Lets move on to talk about the text, textual features because it all comes together really; textual features are how the language is put together really what is... do you want to say something Xavier?
- 59 Xavier: Well, we have been focused on how the information is presented. So we have direct speech and indirect speech. The first one - direct - we have the council spokesman, Mrs Newton, the Council Spokeswoman , and then Mrs Newton again: in the indirect speech we have Mr Lane, the Inspector then - well we are not very sure if this part...
- 60 CW: ... which part is that ...
- 61 X: ...about the booklet which says ' the golliwog has no place in society' we are not sure if this is indirect speech.
- 62 CW: Which column is that?
- 63 Monica: Third and fourth
- 64 CW: Oh yes, third and fourth. Bottom of the third. Right ' Mrs Newton -no Mrs Martin left Mrs Newton a booklet by the Working group against Racism in Childrens' Resources which says the "golliwog" has no place in society' - that's an interesting example because - no that's indirect speech erm "the golliwog" has no place. - golliwog in inverted commas. This means that - I would say, I don't know if you would agree, -that we're not sure what the original report actually said. Did it say - actual words - 'the golliwog has no place in society'. We don't know because its not directly quoted. Do you see what I mean?
- (explanation continues for several minutes)
- Any other comments you want to make?.
- 65 X: Well apart from this, we have been commenting on the whole text, because we thought that the writer is for Mrs Newton. It's not for the council. The council is in a weak position here.
- 66 CW: How's that indicated do you think by the language? if it is, is there something in the text that suggests that?
- 67 X: Yes, let me see

- 68 M: We were saying, coming back to direct speech if you look at these parts that are direct speech and you take them as a dialogue what they say in these parts of direct speech is the council says 'We want a compromise' and we need to cool down first and then comes Mrs Newton in saying well I didn't need any time to cool off er well maybe - I've got no problem, they've got the attitude problem so she comes over very strong and then again the council in direct speech in the middle, isn't it, yeh, . Here the council says well 'she is a good and caring childminder' but ok 'it remains our opinion that the golliwog can cause offence' and then Mrs Newton comes in again saying well then if they refuse to register me then I will not have any choice but I mean I think again they've got the problem. So if you just look at these things I think the way he has chosen direct speech makes very clear what his position is himself what his opinion is by putting the council in a weak position.
- 69 CW: You mean the writer?
- 70 M: The writer.
- 71 CW: The writer, yes, yes.
- 72 M. What the council says as well, nothing much, they want the compromise now . But Mrs Newton is very strong, she knows what she is doing.
- 73 CW: That's right yes.
- 74 Y: I think the last bit as well - it's within a quotation but it says: "has gone quite mad". It doesn't say - The Times won't say that kind of thing but she says and so..
- 75 CW: Yes, that's nice, that's nice. Well put.
- 76 Y: It's within quotations -
- 77 CW: Yes exactly. She's allowed to say that so the Times might seem like it's a more serious newspaper, but it's allowed to end, and that's the importance of where you place..what prominence you place.. Like you know it ends with Mrs What's her name has her last word. Mrs Newton has the last word.

Comment

TENOR OF DISCOURSE:

TEACHER TURNS: offering the floor

The balance between managerial, substantive and exploratory questions has shifted so that there are relatively few questions which aim to structure the episode

and rather more which invite students to probe more deeply into matters of text interpretation, eg. in turn 7 'Do you want to say something more about it, whose support and what kind of support?' In particular there are more teacher exploratory questions which invite responses but are not intended as nor taken to be requests for answers to specific questions, in contrast, for instance to GWTT sequences. A further shift in tenor is signalled by the relative absence of the evaluative or feedback move. Thus turn 7 pushes Yukako to extend her answer but does not evaluate it in terms of some pre-specified notion of adequacy, as happens on earlier occasions during the course.

STUDENT TURNS: taking the floor

There are more unsolicited turns from the students than in earlier episodes. Monica, Yukako and Virginia all volunteer turns, with Xavier the only one who, on this occasion, contributes only when specifically selected by the teacher. Virginia in particular in a long series of turns with the teacher is taking rather than being granted the floor in that no specific bidding is invited by the teacher. One shift of tenor both in terms of taking the floor with a change of topic and in terms of the substantive quality of the contribution occurs at the end of this extract, where Yukako volunteers a turn, even though she was not in the group which was considering textual features, with (turn 74) the words: 'I think the last bit as well'.

TURNTAKING PATTERNS The long series of turns between CW and Virginia shows some departures from earlier kinds of patterning, with infringement of the IRF norm and a move to more conversation-like interaction. It is possible to see the three short turns of CW (nos. 11,13,15) as supportive or clarificatory rather than a reassertion of control, in view of the fact that Virginia's continuations are not responses to CW's interventions but rather spontaneous expansions on her own train of thought. Virginia signals closure of her point about racism in turn 16 when the turntaking patterning shifts to a series of rapid exchanges where the participants spontaneously take turns with little sense that the teacher has privileged rights to the floor; the exchange is relatively unmarked for status differential. This is suggested in particular by the series of questions which are raised by both parties during this

stretch of talk. These exploratory questions shift the terrain away from conventional IRF sequences to mutual enquiry. Certainly the evaluative element is not lost; it is evident in the unequal use of expressions such as 'That's an interesting point'(turn 19) and 'yes thats right'(turn 25) but there is some mitigation of power and a shift towards solidarity.

FIELD OF DISCOURSE:

Expansion of teacher argument: There is little expansion of the teachers' own point of view in this episode. However the teacher's responses, to a greater degree than earlier, expand on - or encourage expansion of - students' positions. Expansion is offered to Yukako's point introduced in turn 74, and this provides closure to the whole episode, on the principle that the teacher regularly claims the final turn, an observation which Virginia makes of the classroom interaction in 8:3. However the teacher's response: 'Yes, exactly' (turn 77), as with the response to Virginia, with the words 'sure' (turn 21) - echoing Virginia's question rather than attempting to answer it - can be seen as 'authored' in Goffman's terms. That is, validation is not offered to expected and acceptable interpretations in terms of 'what the teacher had in mind' - but to the substantive point made.

Expansion of student argument: Yukako in turn 8 extends, on prompting by CW, her initial turn by posing a problem around the interpretation of the text. A surface hesitancy masks a confident toleration of uncertainty. (cf. the discussion in 6:4). Such an interpretation is supported by Yukako's following claim, as a reason for the uncertainty, that there is a lack of clarity in the text, a point which she goes on to elaborate. Her point is not that she personally does not understand but that the text headline is open to several interpretations. She thereby acknowledges the principle of textual ambiguity. The response by CW is evaluative in a substantive way of Yukako's point and the concluding question functions not as an invitation for someone to take the floor with a specific answer to the question, but more rhetorically. Virginia acknowledges this by elaborating on CW's point - namely the reason for the effect of ambiguity about Mrs Newton's position on race. The sequence which then follows proceeds, as noted above, by a reciprocal extension of points or echoing of questions,

which are posed not in the expectation of an unequivocal response but in order to problematise the text. An example is:

CW: ...'Lorrie Lane a Rastafarian', but then you might say is that relevant. You know, do we need to know whether he's a Rastafarian

V: Yes, that's why - why do they say it?

CW: Sure'

To a greater degree than the other students, Virginia extends on points introduced by the teacher, without waiting for prompts. She also moves the discussion on to new territory. This happens in the sequence which begins:

CW: '...any other observations you want to make about the verbs, perhaps that are used' and ends with

CW: ...they want to emphasise, it seems to me, the

V: the support (turns 52 - 57)

The turns between CW and Xavier are differently constructed, much more in the orthodox question/answer mode with Xavier not voluntarily extending arguments beyond his prepared turns, leaving Monica to elaborate at some length on their joint behalf in turns 68 and 72.

Yukako's intervention at the end of this episode is of interest not just interpersonally but also ideationally in that her turn offers a substantive - and perceptive - extension to the contributions of the pair, that is Monica and Xavier, who are dealing with textual features.

FEATURES WHICH SIGNAL AN AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND USES AT MACRO AND MICRO LEVELS

Cultural/ Contextual knowledge

There is evidence here that the context of reception is privileged by students over the context of production, in keeping throughout with the focus on received

rather than intended meaning. For instance, the theme of racism is introduced into the discourse by Yukako even though it is arguable whether this is what the producers of the 'Childminder' article would wish to claim as salient in their text. Certainly the lexical item 'racist' features more frequently in the oral discussion than in the written text where it collocates not with Mrs Newton, as in the classroom text, but with 'Noddy' or 'toy'. (and then equivocally and ironically, as the use of inverted commas around 'racist toy' appears to suggest). In the early part of this episode, race is a major theme across the first 6 or 7 turns of the interaction, kept in play largely by Virginia who elaborates on the theme in a number of ways. Thus we have:

Y: 'we don't know if she's a real racist' - 'supporting her being a racist' - V: 'she never says she's not a racist' - 'maybe we're all racist' - CW 'What is racism.'

We see how the theme of race is elaborated across turns, through particular uses of mood and modality; the uncertainty indicated by the use of interrogatives, eg. 'what is racism' and the strong use of modal expressions to qualify statements, particularly Virginia's repeated use of 'maybe' suggests an exploratory search for meaning rather than the need to find definitive interpretations. The effect is to problematise the concept of racism.

While the effects are elaborated upon, the context of production is dealt with rather summarily. For instance Virginia refers to the text producers as simply 'they' or 'them' without indicating whether she wishes to indicate the single named author of the text or to include a more plural notion of text producers. Later she indicates however, under the discussion of what constitutes relevance, that decisions of what to include in texts are taken - not necessarily at a conscious level - by the newspaper (who envisages a certain readership) cf. turn 35 and 37.

Textual knowledge

In this task (cf. 5. 13) students, in pairs, were asked to comment specifically on ideational, interpersonal and textual features respectively. Yukako, in the 'ideational' pair with Virginia, introduces the key notion of 'participant' then going on to exemplify the major participants in the text at the same time. However this metalinguistic term is not kept consistently in play through the discussion of ideational

features. Virginia in turn 53 introduces the term 'mental processes', though only in response to a prompt, as follows:

CW: any other observations you wish to make about the verbs perhaps that are used?

V: they're all mental processes - more, the majority of them

Y: 'offended' 'refused'

Xavier talks of direct and indirect speech as one of the aspects of the manner - as he notes himself - of 'how the information is presented' The most positive use of textual knowledge here, in the sense, that it is produced unprompted and spontaneously and draws on a textual feature (the use of reported speech) in order to argue for a particular intention/effect is Yukako's contribution at the end of the episode, commented on above.

7.5 Summarising Comments

Observations on features of equality: the tenor of discourse

One might expect tighter framing of classroom interaction early on in the lifetime of a class, with the teacher adopting a footing more in keeping with her role of principal or animator than of author and this is borne out by the teacher turns in episode one where the teacher talk is almost entirely managerial.

The interaction is tightly controlled even though there are occasions when students are signalling a readiness for direct engagement with each other and a readiness to take the floor. This is frustrated at several points, particularly through turn appropriation by the teacher.

By the second episode when the students have settled into this discourse community and understand its rules there is some evidence of a loosening of framing by the teacher. Nonetheless, the students are denied opportunities to respond on their own behalf to challenges or queries from each other. Silvain's intervention in episode 2, turn 8: 'especially this one' signals a willingness to keep the floor, a wish denied him by CW's insistence on attempting some kind of formulation of Blanca's and his own

positions. In particular, there seems little to justify the persistent GWTT questions evident in the series; 'What did you notice' and 'Have another look', especially with students who are showing an ability to engage in discussion in more independent ways.

By the final episode, possibly because of the reduced size of the class on this occasion, there is some evidence that the tenor of the classroom setting has shifted, an impression created partly through a greater incidence of shared exploratory questions. This is accompanied by a greater variation of turntaking patterns signalled, for instance, by longer stretches of solidary indicating spontaneous offering of turns with the function of supporting and building on prior ones. This is apparent in the sequence of turns between CW and Virginia which, while still dominated by CW, are echoic in effect: e.g.

Its like when we were talking about the 'naughty black face'

yes

the same

yes. thats right.

However, this kind of smooth exchange of turns occurs only between the teacher and one particular student. It may be that in granting the floor to one student who is eager to take and hold it, other students' floor rights are being infringed.

Observations of features of quality: the field of discourse

Assurance of equality -always understood within the constraints posited above - is meaningless educationally speaking if there is no assurance of quality, that is if there is no concern that students should advance in knowledge and understanding. Many language classrooms, as noted at the beginning of this study, will see this growth in knowledge or competence in terms of knowledge about or mastery of linguistic structure. In this study the concern is with growth of a particular kind of language awareness made evident partly through critical talk around texts. Moreover the talk in itself is seen to constitute learning opportunities in the sense that in arguing

through a point of view or defending a position we are in the process gaining a clearer understanding of what we mean. It follows that the teacher's job from this point of view is to monitor the quality of this talk. There is little evidence of this happening in the first two episodes. Particularly in episode one there is a preoccupation with local and longer-term control tactics and strategies and a relative neglect of the need to listen to what is being said substantively and to invite from students, not simply additions but clarification and expansion of argument.

Furthermore, one goal of critical talk in the classroom, as argued here, is that students should incorporate the arguments of others within their own, either to dissent or to support. A particular goal of the class was the desirability of students' referring to each other in the reporting back of their discussions, to point out similarities and differences of point of view which emerged during the pair work. There is little evidence of this here, although in episode two, turn 11 Virginia points the way, by acknowledging her partner Sylvie's observation and then elaborating on it.

Just as there is unhelpful intervention by the teacher, there are points in the discourse where teacher scaffolding might have pushed expansion of points further. For instance Domingo in episode two indicates that he is aware of salient effects and comments, metaaffectively, on his personal response to one feature of a text; thus he finds the 'Whites out' headline 'shocking'. However, unlike Sylvie, later on in this episode, he fails to enhance this point by giving a reason for his response. Equally, he points to a linguistic option in another of the Mandela texts as significant when he says that 'Mr' Mandela is 'a good treatment' but fails to elaborate on the likely effect of different 'treatments'. He could have been pushed to offer justification and support for his responses either by his peers or the teacher.

In episode three while there is a greater degree of reciprocity in the mutual expansion of points between CW and Virginia, this is not reflected in support for each others' arguments on the parts of the other students nor in the other exchanges between CW and the students. Xavier, for instance, interprets the mode of discourse more as transmission style teaching and responds to CW by merely listing the instances of direct and indirect speech in the text. When he acknowledges uncertainty it is with a request for clarification from the teacher. It is left to CW to do the

exploratory talk around the text. Xavier is thereby denied the opportunity both for more extended talk and to learn through talk. On the other hand, several of the students, such as Virginia and Yukako, show a preparedness to acknowledge uncertainty and ambivalence in the interpretation of texts, a key aspect, I have argued, of critical talk and a central principle in critical literacy.

Language awareness at micro and macro levels

As noted at the start of this thesis a goal of the course was to develop awareness of the way language use reinforces inequalities of power at wider macro levels, as evidenced in everyday practices in the real world, as well as through the patternings of encodings in specific texts. One might expect students by the end of the course to be readier to draw on interactions with texts and with each other so that there is a greater sense of membership of an interpretative community which is beginning to share some cultural/critical points of reference. One likely reason, for instance, for the identification of racism as a key theme for the students in the 'Childminder' text is that race had been a recurring theme throughout the course. As a discourse it circulated in various guises, for instance as orientalism, exoticism, xenophobia or prejudice against people of colour, in many of the texts we surveyed. Moreover, because of the particular composition of the class, which was drawn both from different ethnic groups and different nationalities, unequal representation and treatment was particularly noticeable. In a more immediate sense during the particular lesson in which the 'Childminder' text was analysed, students had raised their own personal experiences of racism as well as the manner in which racist discourse was inflected in their own cultural contexts. (cf the transcript of the whole class in Appendix Three; lesson 14 and the extract in 6.4).

At the micro level there is some evidence in the final episode that students are drawing to a greater degree on both conventional grammatical terms, which, as noted earlier in chapter five, these students were already familiar with, as well as some of the Hallidayan terminology. However, it is noticeable that students offer metalinguistic support when requested but rarely produce it spontaneously; there is a sense in which the students are producing the systemic/functional terms rather to order, that is, on

request, than drawing on them in ways which significantly enhance insight. Some terms, such as 'participant' are readily taken on board by most students while a fuller range of terms are used only by a few. The degree to which the students find such a specific framework facilitating for text analysis is discussed more fully in chapter eight.

7.6 Conclusion

If we return to the four broad questions raised in 6.4 related to the focus of the classroom study we might briefly assess how far the class met its goals. The first question related to the possibility and desirability of classroom discussion. What evidence is there of the equal exchange of views, the opportunity to elaborate on them and to be listened to by one's peers that we would call discussion in the real world? This is closely linked to the second question, which related to students' ability and willingness to offer opinions in a public setting. There is some evidence that students are beginning to use this feature of educated discourse which involves the articulation of personal point of view. Moreover, related to the third question of how far these opinions are supported, many of the students do offer quite complex expansion of argument within individual turns if not across them.

However, related to the final and key goal of enhancing language awareness by means of specific linguistic metalanguage, progress was very limited. Particularly at the micro text analytic level, the group generally fails to offer convincing warrant for interpretations. There is some evidence that the students recognise the importance in principle of doing so, but most balk at substantial engagement with text at this level.

Finally, we might imagine a version of critical pedagogy which involved the radical dismantling of all forms of teacher control with no inherent superiority of rights to talk. Pragmatically this would bring us closer to conversation and would in principle also bring one closer to the ideal speech community characterised by Habermas. However I do not embrace such a version in this thesis, for the reasons noted in chapter three, where I argued that a supposed egalitarianism might be disempowering rather than liberating. To take a metaphor from the text studied in the first episode, we need as teachers to aim for control rather than power, if we take

power to mean domination solely by virtue of being in authority rather than an authority and control to mean the judicious use of means in the teacher's gift which ensure equality of access to learning. The teacher necessarily exerts two kinds of authority, one based on her institutionally ascribed role as teacher - as principal in Goffmans terms; another on her superior knowledge and experience. Both however are negotiable to some degree, especially in the case of a small group of adults where possibilities exist for considerable loosening of framing.

Because I am not working with baseline classroom data which might show what good discussion or good critical talk looks like, any claims as to growth in awareness in the case of this particular class are necessarily tentative. However in looking in some depth at key moments of classroom interaction, it is possible to observe the degree to which the students develop new or differently focused ways of looking at texts in the larger sociocultural contexts in which they circulate. As the classroom teacher I cannot claim disinterested retrospection. Nonetheless, my aim in revisiting the classroom interaction data has been to locate both fulfilled and missed opportunities for developing a critical language awareness which evolves not just through the scrutiny of texts but through socially constructed classroom talk. In the next chapter I shall look at data which offers greater insight into the students' own perspective on their development as critical readers.

CHAPTER 8:

CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS PERSPECTIVES AS THEY EMERGE IN STUDENT DIARIES, READING PROTOCOLS AND INTERVIEWS

8.1 Introduction

The aim in this chapter is twofold: first to show the extent to which constative talk developed collaboratively in the classroom setting may emerge in individual talk and thinking; to consider how the student as a private person finds her own voice within the other voices of the classroom community, to show, that is, the extent to which a sense of self emerges from the social. (Habermas 1992:196).

The second aim is to get closer to students' views about the Critical Reading course and in particular the degree to which they felt their awareness of language more widely and their critical reading of texts in particular had been sharpened.

With these goals in mind I shall look at samples of students' talk and writing outside the classroom setting. Those selected here are diary entries, protocols which show students thinking aloud through texts and relatively unstructured interviews which feature extended uninterrupted stretches of talk.

It has been argued in this thesis that critical awareness involves both breadth and depth. Thus we need to ask how far the students reveal an ability and willingness to move beyond and beneath general everyday observations of language and literacy phenomena, including first impression readings of texts, to draw on specific textual evidence which either challenges or reaffirms their initial, relatively unconsidered responses. This it was argued in chapter 2, is a difference between response and interpretation in the reading of texts and relates also to Lankshear's (1994:10) three phases of critical literacy awareness, whereby one outcome of a critical language awareness course might be not just the ability to critique the discourses of specific texts in greater than customary depth but the ability to relate those critiques to readings of wider social/cultural processes and practices. It is this third level by which students revisit initial first level responses and attitudes, mediated by close readings of texts and the judgements of their peers, which is the main focus of this chapter. The

kind of 'noticing' which results is, moreover, not just different in depth but also in kind. It means seeing everyday texts and literacy practices in different ways - 'standing things on their head' (Widdowson op cit) or 'reconceptualising' in Cazden's (1988) terms. My interest is in the degree to which the data sources, retrospectively analysed by myself as the class teacher, as well as the students' own perceptions, offer evidence of such reconceptualisations.

I shall focus on two students in some depth while bringing in illustrative comment relating to the other students in the group. The two students selected for closer attention, Virginia and Yukako, attended regularly throughout the class although Yukako missed one session. Moreover they came to the class with rather different cultural perspectives, educational backgrounds and goals. Virginia was an undergraduate student at a university in Spain, doing one year of her studies at Thames Valley University. Yukako was doing a B. Tech degree at TVU but also preparing for the Cambridge Proficiency examination. These were their respective answers to key questions in the initial questionnaire:

Virginia:

1. Why did you choose to enrol for the 'Critical Reading' course?

Because I thought it would be a good way to improve not only my English but my knowledge of English culture. I think that written texts can say a lot about a society and would like to get to understand them well

2. What do you understand Critical Reading to be? How, for example, do you think it differs from the kind of reading you usually do in your language classes?

The rest of my classes deal with classical texts (poetry, plays) but I think that this course is going to focus on contemporary sources and therefore will help me make my own opinion (being useful not only in my learning of English but also in my analysis of texts in my own language)

To the same two questions Yukako responded:

1. Because I wanted to improve my reading ability, especially in terms of speed and accuracy and double meaning

2. To understand what the writer really meant, what made him to write a particular article.

At the same time as focusing on these two students I shall concentrate on three sources of data. An account of the whole range of material collected is given in chapter four, along with reasons for the research approach and focus which I selected. To briefly restate the rationale for my selection of data sources here: firstly they are different modes and genres, though typically hybrid in the sense that the diaries involve exchange of turns, with the teacher offering a written response to each student entry; the reading protocols involve both ongoing silent reading as well as thinking - and reading -aloud, and the interviews allow opportunities for relatively free conversation as well as constituting responses to specific questions asked by the interviewer.

What these media also offer potentially are opportunities for critical reflection on texts and language practices at some distance, spatially and temporally, from the classroom setting described in chapter six. A different perspective can also be brought to bear on the interpretations which have been offered within the classroom community, allowing students to shift from critical commentary on texts to metacritical awareness. Indeed I have argued that it is this kind of metalevel knowledge which is a defining feature of CLA and can only come to the fore when texts, practices and readings are judged from some distance. In metacritical awareness students are able to talk not just about aspects of their own thinking as they process specific texts, which has been the concern of metacognitively oriented research on 'think-aloud' reading strategies, but about the overall stance which they adopt to a range of texts and genres, brought into relief when considered against other possible reader stances.

Diary keeping allows students to reflect at leisure and in private on what they feel the course offers them ongoingly, as well as offering the researcher/teacher a window into these reflections. Diaries can also be seen as providing an opportunity - extended beyond the classroom and through a different medium - for continuing discussion. Thus, potentially at least, they offer for scrutiny ideational and interpersonal features comparable to those which featured in the classroom episodes,

adjusted however to take account of the difference of genre. Moreover, the diaries function not just as sources of information for the researcher/teacher but continuing sources of learning for the students involved.

The reading protocols were more spontaneous. They aimed to capture how far online oral responses to an unseen text would reveal some of the interpersonal and ideational characteristics which were observed in the classroom interaction.

The interviews followed the course three months after it finished. One of the aims was to discover which aspects of the course were salient for the students at a distance, what was memorable and significant and what the findings might indicate about the students' longer term commitment to the principles of CLA. In particular the interview transcripts present students' own critique of the course and the learning opportunities it provided from their point of view. Though the interviews were not entirely unstructured, they featured long turns from the interviewees and were relatively unconstrained in terms of keeping to a brief or period of time.

The aim then is to see how far data from these different sources can add to the overall picture of development of awareness, from both the researcher/teacher and the students' perspective.

8. 2 Diaries

There are a number of studies in ELT, for example Bailey 1983 and Jarvis 1992, which look at the role of diaries or journals in language teaching. Typically they are designed to offer opportunities for students to chart their own learning processes; many of these also include more or less extended teacher responses, calculated to make the genre more of an ongoing exchange of ideas than mere learner production. In my study the diaries served three broad aims: they were designed

1. to provide the opportunity for display of knowledge about language and ability to use language.

The students were told that the diary keeping was a course requirement and would form part of assessment, so there was a clear concern to display knowledge, with the accompanying expectation of a need to be explicit and to use metalinguage.

In this sense they were public documents, handed in to the teacher. Moreover, with the permission of the students involved, I occasionally read aloud some parts of these diaries, or referred to their content, viewing them as a resource which fed back into the classroom community. (cf. Appendix Three: fourteen for an example)

2. to offer an opportunity for engagement with the teacher and to explore personal views.

I undertook to offer fairly long responses week by week. Students were therefore at liberty to opt for a more or less specifically interactive stance with me. (cf below for an example)

3. to extend discussion beyond the classroom boundaries.

The diaries offered an opportunity to think through ideas - in greater depth than possible in class -about the nature of texts, reading and language learning.

The affective and cognitive elements emphasised respectively in 2. and 3. link to an interpersonal vs. ideational orientation though clearly the two are inevitably fused as the diary extracts, reproduced below, reveal.

The diaries are a hybrid genre in that they came to serve different, at times even conflicting, purposes. For example, although I aimed, in my responses to students' entries, to engage substantively with the points they made, my comments tend to reveal a shift of identity from author, in Goffman's terms, to principal, where I put on my 'response evaluator' hat. Many of my comments thus echo the ambivalence of evaluative responses made in class. For instance, I conclude the diary entry response to Virginia's first entry, given below, with: 'All in all some very good points here'.

The students interpreted the diary task in different ways. No-one produced a full set of entries, week by week, some preferring to produce long accounts over several weeks. Some presented successive entries as documents recording what happened in class and what they learnt. Others considered wider cultural implications of the discourses addressed, using the texts surveyed in class as codes in the Freirean

sense. Silvain was a student whose address of myself as his interlocutor was very specific; at the same time his own text moved far beyond the particular issues raised by the texts he alluded to:

Catherine, I've been thinking about the letter you wrote to the Daily Mail and the answer you received. The text was overtly biased against Spain and its aim was probably to reassure the English people about the viability of the English traditional moral values. I think this simplistic representation of Britain as being the country of the Good is one of the basic styles of the working class ideology - And that's probably the reason why you disliked it, because, as far as I can see, you're no member of the working class - You've probably made long studies and there is no way fooling you. In other words, the text was not made for you....

(This text: 'The blame that Spain must share' is reproduced in Appendix Two)

(my response to Silvain's diary entry up to this point is:)

I really like your expression 'Britain as the country of the Good'! Do you think these kinds of appeals to patriotism which we noticed in the Robbie text are typically British? Can you imagine a French equivalent, for example, to discourse related to 'cricket' and 'country/rural life? Is it fair to call this 'working class ideology'? I think the Daily Mail readership is more middle-class in fact. I agree, though, that the text was not 'made for me' but I don't think I agree that there's 'no way of fooling me'! Your comments raise the point that perhaps there is a kind of arrogance in critiquing texts where we are not the model reader. It's harder to 'stand back' critically from texts we regularly read which reflect our own social or political identity. All texts have some ideological content, but it will be more or less visible to us, I think.

Although ideally the CW responses, such as the one to Silvain's particular diary entry here, should be seen as part of the whole diary genre as it was interpreted here, for ease of analysis I will consider only the students' entries, in selective ways moreover, and I shall code the texts in similar ways to the classroom interaction, looking first at interpersonal features, in particular the way the writer locates herself in interaction with a reader through the use of mood and modality; secondly at ideational features related to the expansion of argument; thirdly at the manner in which micro and macro levels of language awareness emerge in the diaries. I will talk more generally about how the students drew on these resources, and then focus on Yukako and Virginia.

8.2.1 TENOR of discourse: mood and modality

Ways of interpreting tenor will differ from one genre to another. Thus a feature which might illuminate aspects of classroom interaction might not repay such scrutiny in the case of other genres. One clear example is turntaking where, in the case of diaries, there is not the same kind of exchange of turns, as in spoken face to face interaction. Nonetheless, the diary genre is dialogic. As noted above, individual students exploited its potential in different ways. Some students, such as Silvain, addressed their text to a single addressee, the teacher. Others built dialogue into their text in the sense that discursive prose invariably engages with an imagined reader more or less explicitly (cf. Widdowson 1979 and Wallace 1992).

Accompanying and part of the dialogic quality of continuous written text is the use of mood. For instance is the text entirely affirmative? What is the role of interrogatives? Do they function to address a particular reader, or are they rhetorical?. Importantly for the purposes of this thesis, do students use problem posing or what were described in chapter six as 'exploratory' questions, seeing the texts introduced on the course as codes which may raise questions on a number of textual and contextual levels?. The use of such kind of questioning together with modalisation which qualifies statement can be seen as a positive development in critical awareness.

Modality covers both modalisation and modulation in Halliday's (1994) terms, one reflecting a writer's attitude or stance to what he/she is saying, the second the stance to an imagined reader. Thus the use of modality might signal politeness, modesty, a wish to be acceptable (cf Myers 1989, Kourilova 1995 and Widdowson 1984) as well as uncertainty. Moreover in constative speech uncertainty, or tentativeness, as argued earlier in this thesis, is as likely to signal reflectiveness, the search for truth, as it is to indicate lack of confidence. In this sense I would challenge the view in Clark and Ivanic (1997:156) that modal expressions necessarily weaken a writer's authoritativeness. (Clark and Ivanic are talking of student writing, but the same point could be made about talk). Being authoritative means knowing what are the limits to ones knowledge and experience which will mean being careful not to make unsubstantiated claims. For this reason modality might be expected to characterise academic discourse - educated discourse in the terms of this thesis - and

may be judged powerful rather than the reverse. Also to be positively regarded, for the same reasons, are acknowledged changes of position. An example is in Silvain's second diary entry, following the one quoted earlier, where he reconsiders an earlier point of view with the words:

Kathy, You may remember I had claimed previously that each social class had its own ideology - Well, I'd like to question that assumption now'

8.2.2 FIELD of discourse: expansion

Here I will consider the extent to which the students offer expansion in their diaries. It might be thought that the diary genre is not discursive in the manner of the class discussion episodes. However it is clear that the diary is an ongoing part of language learning, functioning as more than a mere commentary on what was learnt. Students in general responded to the expectation to offer expansion on points of view. Examples of extension, elaboration and enhancement are included here from one of Xavier's diary entries about half way through the course:

1) *Extension*: 'It was also surprising the way in which BNP was using the manifesto's vocabulary. I supposed it would use a very blatant, pompous and very negative vocabulary'

2) *Elaboration*: 'For instance, the Labour party was using a vocabulary (freedom, prosperity, free society, Britain, etc) which would be very usual in a right wing party'

3) *Enhancement*: 'In the last lesson we werehaving a look at some manifestos. It was interesting to see the differences among them, because I could notice that the particular language of a certain manifesto does not necessary correspond to the party that you are expecting'

8.2.3 Levels of Awareness:

Levels of awareness are commented upon in relation to what had been the focus of the lesson to which the diary entry made reference. Thus in early lessons

contextual features rather than textual features were attended to. Also, as is evident from the other data sources, different students drew on metalanguage at different levels of specificity. While exploited in different ways, the diaries offered opportunities for students to develop a fuller account of metalevel observations than was possible during the classroom lessons. A degree of distance from the class discussion and the reading of the texts allowed a different level of reflection on the issues raised. Moreover, at times the students referred to the classroom itself as an interpretative community.

8.2.4 Examples of Diaries: Virginia and Yukako

* two samples of diary entries, one from near the beginning of the course, a second mid-way through, are included. The full sets of diary entries completed by Yukako and Virginia, along with the teacher's comments, are provided in Appendix four.

VIRGINIA:

Entry One 5/11/93

lines:

1 From the last class I would consider Halliday's theory
2 quite useful and interesting, as well as new for me. The
3 division among Field, Tenor and Mode help the comprehension
4 of the text mainly through the searching for clues for it in the
5 text (justifications through grammar, lexicon, organisation of the
6 parts of the text.)

7 From the analysis of the advertisement, I would remark how
8 important was the personal background ('the knowledge of the
9 world'), since it used historical sources to support its subject-
10 matter, its message. I find amazing, on the other hand, how
11 many different interpretations for the message the people in the
12 class had. The vocabulary was so carefully chose, that the
13 semantic field of 'power' and 'control' made us always think of
14 wealthy young/male readers.

15 The analysis of the letter, drawing attention to pronouns
16 and questions, showed how grammatic elements are manipulated
17 in order to make both advertiser and reader share the same
18 background (inclusive we) or to approach the former to the
19 latter.

Comment:*TENOR:*

Virginia does not address an envisaged reader and makes few evaluative comments beyond, eg. 'I find amazing', a judgement not really substantiated by further comment. In subsequent diary entries, however, she makes more explicit the strength - or tentativeness - of her own views or reflections; moreover, these are occasionally accompanied by reference to consensual judgements made in class. For example: 'It was agreed that (the Conservative Manifesto) was easier to read. This made me ask myself what was the reason for this. Is it that our society is creating people that can only read easy texts?' (Appendix Four: diary entry 2)

FIELD:

Virginia offers examples of enhancement : 'how important was the personal background, since it (the text) used historical sources to support its subject-matter' (line 9) and extension signalled by 'on the other hand', (line 10), though one might dispute the basis of this choice of connector as the statement which it introduces does not seem to be in adversative relation to what precedes.

LEVELS OF AWARENESS:

At the cultural/contextual level Virginia draws on a term introduced in class: 'knowledge of the world'. She then refers to the classroom context itself as an interpretative community by noting the range of different interpretations, produced by members of the class (lines 10 - 12)

Virginia shows awareness at textual levels by drawing on the Hallidayan framework just introduced in the course, and specifically names the three macrofunctions. Moreover she indicates some understanding of what they encompass through her elaboration in brackets in lines 5/6. The effect is, however, more of a display of learning than an engagement with the implications of that learning; she offers a weak elaboration in the second sentence of her initial claim that Halliday's theory is 'useful and interesting'. Virginia displays greater ease with terms related to

interpersonal features (for example 'inclusive we 1.18), introduced in the analysis of the letter.

Entry Two: 2/12/93

*As this was a long entry the full text is given in Appendix Four. Here representative sections from the beginning, middle and end of the diary entry are included and commented upon.

lines:

1 From the last two weeks, the texts that have struck me
2 most are, by chance, both written by the same journalist (the
3 well known Richard Kay) It is interesting how his usage of
4 language produces effects in the readers that they can hardly
5 evaluate. What I mean by this is that our reactions as readers
6 can be measured not only by quite recognisable resources, such
7 as vocabulary, headings or pictures. There are more subtle
8 resources that we unconsciously perceive...Those participants
9 (nouns) that are on the English part are, for instance, 'Robbie'.
10 'excesses', 'the talk', 'the other objectives' ..The last three
11 examples I consider part of the English group, since they clearly
12 refer to things and acts carried out by British people, although
13 strikingly the ergativeness, the agency of the actions
14 disappears.....acts implied by ..nouns are left without a
15 performer (explicit). See for instance: 'Excesses that caused
16 the murder of'.

17 The same analysis would serve for those nouns belonging to
18 the 'Spanish' group but here the effect is the opposite.....

19 I also noticed one very small, maybe insignificant and
20 unimportant detail: Kay refers to those participants that will
21 serve him to embody the British spirit only by their first name
22 (no English surnames are mentioned) On the other hand, he
23 provides the complete names of the Spanish people..In what sence
24 is this important or relevant in the final message?

Comment:*TENOR:*

Virginia's personal voice is confidently articulated with the use of 'I' and 'me'; she immediately locates herself in the text: 'the texts that have struck me most' and 'what I mean by this'. She concludes apparently tentatively 'I noticed one very small maybe insignificant and unimportant detail'. However as argued above, the growth in tentativeness can be seen as part of critical awareness, a preparedness to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty. Her concluding interrogative seems more to raise a possibility worth further consideration than to demand a reply to the specific question from her respondent CW. It is exploratory in this sense.

FIELD:

Virginia elaborates her own argument in dialogic mode; for example 'It is interesting/what I mean by this' (lines 3-5) . This is typical of the manner in which, as noted above, skilled writers conduct a continuing imaginary dialogue with a supposed reader. In presenting her comments on the theme she has selected to deal with : 'participants', she continually enhances, elaborates and extends her argument. for example:

1. 'The last three I consider .. since they clearly refer '. (enhancement) (line 10)
2. 'What I mean by this' (line 5) and 'See for instance' (elaboration) (line 15)
3. 'The same anlysis would serve for those nouns belonging to the Spanish group ' (extension) (line 17)

LEVELS OF AWARENESS:

At the cultural/contextual level Virginia talks both about the context of reception and production, noting the ubiquity of the particular author of the text (who

by coincidence had put his name to several other news texts we had studied) and imputing motivation for discriminatory treatment of participants: 'Kay refers to those participants that will serve him to embody the British spirit only by their first name'(line 21) However, Virginia attends more to effect than intention, noting, for instance 'effects in the readers that they can hardly evaluate'(lines 4/5), a claim she then goes on to elaborate, (cf above). There is a distancing between the particular reading and 'the reader' or readership more widely considered. At the textual level, Virginia offers considerable detail and this is accompanied by metalanguage, most of which has been introduced throughout the course: She also attributes effects to the use of grammatical choices: she notes, for instance, the writer's differential treatment of the key participants, how the agency of actors disappears in the case of the British participants (lines 13 - 16)

YUKAKO

Entry One: 25/11/93

lines:

1 It was very interesting to know that one particular
2 journalist (Richard Kay) in the Gulf War sent two articles to two
3 different newspaper companies on the same topic but with
4 different views.

5 In the articles of the Sun, it was more like a gossiping
6 articles like other articles in the Sun, focusing on the boy's
7 family (particularly father), how they feel about 17 year old son
8 going to the war. People's feeling is the most interesting part
9 for the gossip readers. The way of writing his articles was
10 narrative, quite often the sentences starts as 'He is'.

11 On the other hand, in the articles of the Daily Mail, the
12 writer was implying the excellency of the British Military
13 Service (I don't know if it is really excellent or not) using the
14 words such as 'Private', 'Royal' 'Britain' and 'Elite'. Also, I
15 felt the writer was bit being sarcastic about British Education
16 system by comparing when kids (17 year old) enter the Army, they
17 will learn discipline.

Comment:*TENOR:*

In this first entry Yukako uses the diary more for display than interactive or exploratory purposes. Her evaluative comments are initially confined to the use of very general descriptive adjectives such as 'interesting'. Only at the end of her diary does the tenor shift when she offers a judgement on the writer's motivation, thus moving from response - simply reacting to the text - to interpreting effects and what motivates effects. Incidentally Yukako's comment here - as I read her text - is culturally inflected, related to her expectations about discipline in school, which would almost certainly not be shared by most British readers of the text.

FIELD:

Yukako offers little by way of expansion, merely stating what 'was interesting' in her opening sentence. However, although Yukako does not explicitly mark expansion it is possible to see how, through lexical cohesion, the statement containing the phrase 'it was more like a gossiping articles.' (line 5) is elaborated in the following sentence: 'People's feeling is the most interesting for the gossip readers' (lines 8/9). Extension from paragraph 2 to 3 is signalled explicitly by: 'On the other hand'. She also enhances her final claim that the writer was being sarcastic. (lines 16/17)

LEVELS OF AWARENESS:

Yukako draws on genre knowledge (features of tabloid press) and the accompanying characteristic discourses: family/personal feelings/gossip in one paper while patriotic discourse is constructed in the second, through the lexical field: 'Private', 'royal', 'Britain' and 'elite'. While Yukako thus signals a degree of metalevel awareness of genres and their associated discourse,- she notes the typicality of the Sun article - she avoids the use of specific metalanguage. She offers some brief comment on the verbal processes featured in one article, misidentifying, however, the function of relational clauses like 'he is' in constructing genre.

Entry Two: 22/1/94

(This is an extract from a longer entry reproduced in full in Appendix Four)

lines:

- 1 'By the way, on the other day, I was reading the interview
- 2 article in Japanese magazine, and came across to the sentence
- 3 saying 'I (meant writer) felt this woman was...because I don't
- 4 have a courage nor money etc ..' This "I" must have meant the
- 5 writer of the article (i.e. interviewer) and suddenly started
- 6 talking about the writer's way of life. At first, I was rather
- 7 confused what "I" meant, naturally. Moreover, there was not
- 8 mention of the name of the writer. Since then, I noticed that
- 9 most of the articles in most of the Japanese magazine, they don't
- 10 put the names of the writers. It seemed to me as if writers or
- 11 even publishers are saying that they don't take any
- 12 responsibilities for what they say in the articles. What do you
- 13 think?

Comment:*TENOR:*

Yukako is drawing on an interactive diary mode at this point by opening this paragraph with a feature typical of informal conversation where we have a clear addressee in mind. For instance, 'by the way' would be unlikely to appear in a personal diary with no envisaged addressee other than the writer. Also it is solidary rather than status marked. This effect is reinforced by the concluding question which appears to be specifically addressed to CW: 'What do you think?' Moreover the diary extract is strongly opinionated; there is extensive use of first person as in, 'I was rather confused'; 'I noticed' 'it seemed to me'.

FIELD:

Initially Yukako fails to expand on her statement: 'This "I" must have meant the writer of the article ' (lines 4/5) However the logical connector 'Moreover', indicating extension, fulfills this function. In the following sentence 'Since then' (line.8) offers further extension to her argument. Yukako's penultimate sentence beginning: 'It seemed to me' functions as enhancement in that it is presented as a consequence of her observation, even though it is not explicitly signalled as such. The

overall effect is of a fairly tightly constructed argument which moves beyond observation to a consideration of implications.

LEVELS OF AWARENESS

Yukako draws on her reading of a particular text in order to speculate on wider cultural practices. In doing so, she is beginning to respond at a metacritical level, commenting retrospectively on her own responses to texts and drawing implications from these: her awareness of a specific microlevel response is linked to her observation of a wider literacy practice - namely the absence of obvious referents to 'I' in some genres of Japanese. Thus the work with English language texts appears to have helped enhance awareness, by contrast, with Japanese texts. While Yukako resists the use of metalanguage, her explanation suggests that scrutiny of grammatical choices has made her aware of what might motivate presences or absences in texts.

8. 3 Reading Protocols

Reading protocols, like diaries, can serve different functions for teachers, students and researchers and be interpreted in different ways. The examples presented here provide another kind of evidence for CLA in that, unlike the diary entries, where comment ranges widely over texts, literacy practices and the students' own learning and reading experiences, the students engage on line with specific texts. Most protocol studies have been interested as Davies (1995:171) puts it in 'readers reports of what they are thinking, feeling or doing in the process of reading'. As noted in chapter two, the reader's processing of text has typically been researched in terms firstly of identifying the use of specific strategies and secondly has been concerned with comprehension, conventionally understood as the apprehension of writer meaning. Here my interest is less in comprehension, than in the nature of the critical stance adopted in the communicative reading event. My concern is with critical and metacritical responses rather than cognitive and metacognitive ones.

There are, of course, other modes of student reactions to text which could be drawn on to offer insight into the nature of reader response. A simple written summary of a text can reveal the reader's stance. In Wallace 1992b it was noted how

such a task revealed the way in which native speaker undergraduate students, unlike the foreign language students at the centre of the study, responded to a text unproblematically, accepting and aligning themselves with its logic or point of view. Thus, in response to the 'Blame that Spain must share' (cf. Appendix Two) which Virginia refers to in her diary and later in her interview, (cf. 8.4) one student wrote: 'It might be very true that Robbie is an average decent human being at home'. Equally, reading protocols may be competent accounts of convergent readings, where textual claims are not met with resistance.

A critical reading, however, will be characterised by resistance to not just the logic or argument of a text but its underlying ideological premises; not just what is said but how. The problematising process operates not at the level of the issues explicitly announced for us by the text, but at omissions and distortions. Underlying what is in fact written are versions of what could have been written. And at the same time as different writings are imagined, so are alternative readings.

In looking at reader responses qualitatively, it is clear that we are talking about orientations rather than polar opposites, expressed, for instance, as a bald dichotomy between 'critical' and 'uncritical' reading. Nonetheless I argue here that it is possible to describe responses as more or less critical under the headings used to account for the diary entries: that is, respondents will vary in the extent to which they are able and willing to be critical as revealed through key interpersonal and ideational features of the texts they produce (here presented as transcripts of the 'think aloud' protocols) as well as through the detail of support they offer their interpretations. Below I present verbal protocols of Virginia and Yukako as they think aloud through texts which, though they have been introduced during the course fairly briefly, have not been studied in depth. Additionally, to offer a useful point of reference, a verbal protocol of Domingo is presented, as he thinks aloud through the same text as Yukako. However I do not offer a detailed analysis of Domingo's report. (in each case the students were presented with a small set of texts to choose from)

I give examples here of interpersonal, ideational and content features, under tenor, field, and levels of awareness respectively

8.3.1 Tenor

A key question that might be raised here is the degree to which the reader responds at an affective, associative level without further qualification. For instance, Domingo accepts the propositions of the text about Singapore, which we examine in some detail below, unproblematically, when he says: "Futuristic buildings" suggests - I don't know - reminds me of novels such as 'Brave new World' and all those utopic places'. He offers his own personal response but does not speculate either on what kind of response the text invites or countenance the possibility of readings other than his own. A more critically oriented interpersonal stance would permit one to see how one's own reader position may be one of several possible ones and that there is a preferred reading ; to be aware, that is, of the difference between the received reading, - the reading the writer intends - and one's personal reading. In other words, how does the respondent situate herself within the account she offers in the reading protocol, - by, for instance, simply stating what the text is about, or by indicating how far and in what ways she aligns herself with the preferred reading? One's own use of language is made more powerful not simply by the presence of greater voice or sense of personal identity (cf Clark and Ivanic 1997) but by the ability to locate oneself within other possible voices. Moreover this location of the self within the social becomes clearer as it is articulated through extension, elaboration or enhancement of the position taken. This links to the ideational level of response, dealt with under FIELD.

8.3.2 Field:

Questions to raise here relate to the degree to which the reader leaves judgements unqualified or, conversely, makes some attempt to qualify, illustrate or offer an explanation for the claims made. Of course the inclusion of these markers of expansion are also interpersonal and dialogic in the sense, as argued above, that they anticipate or preempt challenges, queries or objections from an imagined interlocutor.

8.3.3 Levels of Awareness:

As the 'think alouds' focus on a single text we might expect the reader to offer greater specificity of linguistic and contextual/cultural comment. For this reason I specify in more detail than with the diary studies what kind and depth of language awareness is brought into play. Moreover because the students are engaging directly with a particular text, I reverse the order of comment, from that used in the account of the classroom interaction, beginning with the responses at textual level and moving out from those to consider how far the students link the text level responses to macro kinds of awareness. My commentary is guided by the following questions:

1) *textual*: how far is textual detail discussed, with or without the accompaniment of particular kinds of metalanguage?.

2) *contextual/cultural*: does the reader show any awareness of factors such as source or genre of the text, the processes of production and the immediate circumstances of its appearance?

Moreover, is the reader able to link awareness of textual features with wider cultural knowledge of practices and phenomena and beliefs?. It is here that issues related to racism and gender - the macro issues of social justice which were the wider concern of the course - might emerge. In short, is there any evidence that the student is able to make links between the world of the text and her own cultural background as well as knowledge of the target culture?

8.3.4 Examples of Protocols: Virginia, Domingo and Yukako

Minor hesitations are not included. Pauses of ten seconds or longer are indicated. Parts of the tape which are unclear are signalled with ?

The texts referred to are included in Appendix Two

1. MASKED MOB STONE POLICE Virginia:

lines:

1 From the very beginning as you start reading the text you notice that they're talking about the violent events and its reflected not only by what they say, the contents of the headlines, the article itself but also the language. Because the fact of saying 'Masked Mob Stone Police' they're making reference to a crowd of people, a big amount of people agreeing ? or facing or hurting the police itself. In the headline ? the language, the device of language by which you could use a noun such as 'crowd' or 'flock' or er common nouns that include several several members of the same group maybe 'people' or 'birds in flock' or whatever, you could use them in plural or singular. You can see in the headline how 'Mob Stone Police' instead of 'Mob Stones Police' and they are they are emphasising the size and the number of people confronting the police that's what ...? for the headline. The pictures, you can see the pictures also alluding to violence - the police, the back of the police and the faces of the rioter really shouting with angry faces and then erm ..? describing the effects of these rioters of this rioting using again words that emphasise the violence such as 'erupts' 'scenes of violence - that had not been seen for a long time' erm 'anti-Nazi demonstrators'- just the use of 'anti-Nazi' for me its interesting because the contradictory thing about this article I mean the whole event is that I mean what they're criticising. I mean the demonstration is against violence and against bad behaviour with people from another races and all those things, but they're behaving in the same way. That is why its so so striking this news. This is what makes this news a news: not only the violence that you could see in the demonstration but the demonstration was against violence. erm They threw everything they could to the police they ..what did they do? Some of them were masked. This is funny this is important because among all the protestors a number of them were masked but in the headline they say : 'Masked Mob Stone Police'. It means, what its doing is trans transporting what happens to a part of the crowd to the whole mob. Maybe its attributing more violence than it was or more - in fact not all of them were masked. So this is a kind of manipulation in the headline. (PAUSE)

40 What else? Its important all the emphasis made on the number of people, the number of officers, the number of hurt people, the number of - everything is counted because its supposed to be a newspaper and all the information has to be well..- whenever you give the number, the exact number then its because well you know what you're talking about. Maybe its a kind of supporting your own information. But the most striking thing again I think is the

fact that its 'a thousand anti Nazi demonstrators' which it doesn't really make sense normally... So this is in fact why this news is doubly news. I don't know how to explain this -its not only the violence that is the news, why we choose the news and the number of people involved and the consequences, but the fact that it doesn't make sense, the fact that anti-Nazi people behave like Nazis themselves. (PAUSE)

But I would also stress that its the language used maybe is over - giving more importance to the violence that it could have itself um..I don't know..maybe using too many words that themselves can imply violence - is making the reader feel this violence and just by reading another paper maybe with another ideology or with less - well it depends sometimes on the party that the newspaper takes. It can show different a different way I mean show the news, the same facts in a very different way, not even justifying them but just, instead of saying 'mob' or 'masked' or - in fact 'masked' is what Nazis do, what skinheads do. Most of the times they cover their head - their faces so that nobody can recognise them. This is very - it links again this anti-Nazi movement to the Nazis themselves. But I mean that maybe in another newspaper - I think we saw some newspapers and some headlines before - they don't really show as much violence as here and it can depend also on the opinion on the on the manipulation of the events that some newspapers do - well not some - all (PAUSE).

Another thing that strikes me is when they say 'the trouble that had flared when the marchers, some as young as 8, were prevented from passing' its its its people so young - people - they were children - they were involved in this violence. It makes you think that in fact the members of the crowd were not violent themselves maybe there was something more (PAUSE).

And the way the word 'vicious' is resulted 'vicious scenes of violence not seen since the Poll tax riots' I wonder why they choose this word. (PAUSE)

Well I think that in summary, as a summary the language is used as as a means to stress the violence that had in fact taken place in the demonstration and words like 'children' contrasted well I mean not 'children' the word 'children' but ..stressing the youth of the members of the demonstration and their being masked when in fact they later say that just a number of them were masked, and classifying them as anti-Nazi and all these things whereas in fact the stressing is the contradiction - what you shouldn't expect from these people has in fact occurred - what they are fighting against

has become against them and just ? remarking how language supports what is reporting to the reader.

Comment:

TENOR

Virginia begins with the impersonal 'you' as the subject of her text: eg. You notice that (lines 1/2). Later, however, she shifts more frequently to the use of the first person and appears more willing to assert a point of view, indicated for instance by: 'Just the use of anti-Nazi for me its interesting. (line 20) and 'I would also stress' (line 51) and 'another thing that strikes me' (line 68) She thematises, through fronting, words like 'important' and 'striking' which allows her to highlight aspects of the text she judges as particularly significant. (this may be an influence from Spanish which more regularly thematises in this way). Thus instead of saying: X is funny, she says: This is funny, this is important...(line 29/30) and later: 'but the most striking thing again is the fact..' (line 43). Virginia's lexical choices and emphatic thematising lend her discourse confidence but expressions of uncertainty, accompanied by modalisation, convey an exploratory tenor. For example: 'I wonder why they took this word (vicious)? (line 75) and 'I dont know how to explain this' (line 46) and frequent statements with 'maybe', such as: 'Maybe its attributing more violence than it was ' (line 33) [I take Virginia to be saying here: the newspaper exaggerated the extent of the violence].

FIELD:

Virginia offers a number of expanding statements indicating that although the task and the mode of discourse is different from those we have covered during the course she interprets the task as requiring the offering of reasons for the points of view expressed. An example is: ' Just the use of 'anti-Nazi' for me its interesting because the contradictory thing about this article - I mean the whole event - is that the demonstration is against violence and against bad behaviour but they're behaving in the same way.' (lines 20-25). In fact throughout her 'think aloud' Virginia is restating, elaborating, and attempting to clarify for herself her interpretation of the text. Such

tentative elaborations, accompanied as they are by modal expressions, which continually restate or refine earlier judgements reinforce the exploratory tenor of Virginia's monologue.

LEVELS OF AWARENESS:

1) *Textual knowledge:* Virginia focuses quite closely on linguistic choices and, in doing so, she follows the Hallidayan principle that grammatical choices are not arbitrary but motivated. One might wish to question whether she is right to conclude as she does that 'Masked mob stone police' creates an effect of a larger crowd - a greater number - than if the alternative form: 'Masked mob stones police ' (lines 11/12) were selected. What is significant is nonetheless the raising of the question itself; the underlying premise that the grammar allows us to exploit meaning in different ways and that the resultant effects are ideologically significant. She later talks of showing 'the same facts in a different way' (line 58). Finally, Virginia's close reading of the text around the issue of 'masked mob' allows her to see an inconsistency between the headline and the body of the text, namely that not all 'the mob' wore masks, as the headline implies.

2) *Contextual /cultural knowledge:* Virginia draws on classroom discussion of the genre of newspaper reports when she claims that no reports are neutral in 'the manipulation of events that some newspapers do - well not some - all' (line 67) She also makes more specific reference to the occasion when other headlines describing the same event were discussed in class (though the accompanying reports were not analysed). In doing so she acknowledges the role of the classroom community, in 'We saw some newspapers and some headlines before' (line 64)

Key items of cultural knowledge which Virginia brings from her existing knowledge of the world relate to the connotation of 'Nazi' and 'mask'. This allows Virginia to note resonances and contradictions. The peaceloving crowd (as antiNazi) behave like Nazis (violently). The masks are typically associated with right wing groups, such as Nazis or Neonazis (who Virginia probably has in mind here) and skinheads.

2. SINGAPORE Domingo and Yukako

A. Domingo:

lines:

1 Well, the first thing is the title which is quite striking. it says 'Singapore where the State chooses your partner' - something that the individual should do and er amazingly is done by the State, so it's really surprising..seems that everything's under control in this place. Now after a very quick reading I find the beginning of the article quite ironic when it says: 'Welcome to Singapore' - welcome to this state-controlled - to this place controlled by the State'...'Death to drug traffickers' is quite violent, the beginning. 'It's the immigration (?) arrival of Changi airport'. 'Futuristic buildings' suggests, I don't know, - reminds me of novels such as 'Brave New World' and all those utopic places..'Island the size of the Isle of Wight' -it suggests being enclosed in a place. 'Most obedient people on earth' I don't know - it reminds me of 1984 by George Orwell as well. 'draconian laws' It seems that all the pleasures are banned - gambling or smoking or - My God, what a place to live! PAUSE 'Singapore is 76% Chinese, 15% Malay and 6% Indian..a tiny infidel dot in a sea of Muslim countries'. This 'a tiny infidel dot' provokes maybe a humorous effect...it seems the government is involved in all the details of the everyday life. My God! 'multiracial society that helps those that help themselves'.. PAUSE It's quite amazing when the government gets involved in the private life of the people, as matching them in order to get married. It's quite I don't know - worrying.. The whole text is full of words such as 'perfect' and others but I think they're used ironically by the author in some way or another.. just amazing. They pay..they're training.. they teach you how to be with a girl and all that - I don't know (laughs). Well there's something similar I think in Europe with all these private companies that now are very fashionable that they match people as well, but of course they are not rules by the government and the purpose is not to obtain benefits for the State'

B. Yukoko

lines:

1 So I chose the article about Singapore. 'Singapore where the State chooses your partner' PAUSE I like the beginning of the text saying 'Welcome to Singapore' which indicates whats this text is about - its about Singapore. I don't know particularly what its

going to talk about. Then the next one - next sentence starts: 'Death to traffickers' Now I'm not so sure about this beginning of the sentence because 'death' and 'traffickers' are very strong words to me and then..if people normally say 'Singapore' I don't think of death or drug. I don't imagine these things from the word 'Singapore'. The word..image I can get from the word 'Singapore' is more like..clean, sunshine and say..interesting country PAUSE

Now I read on and I can understand why they talk about 'death' and 'drug traffickers' because of the very strict draconian laws in Singapore. I know Singapore has very strict laws on many things like throwing the rubbish in the streets. You have to pay lots of fines, I know PAUSE And then this..um writer carry on describing what kind of laws and what..how much fine you have to pay and then..I found this way of..listing these laws is quite interesting - I think someone would certainly carry on reading this article because this way of writing this article suggests that Singapore law is very unusual to British people because you don't have to pay a fine for spitting or littering or failing to flush a public toilet..but I don't really like talking about these fines too much because it sounds like the writer is making fun of Singapore PAUSE

and then..this text moves on to the structure of the population, I mean the ethnic origins like Chinese, Malay, Indian um Muslim countries. um. When they talking about - generally speaking - about South East Asia they always talking about how good they're doing in the economy and then they always say it will be a rich country in ten or twenty years time and then well as I imagine, it says here as well, it says 'with HongKong to be the third most prosperous economy in Asia' I don't like this kind of introducing South East Asian because this economic growth always associated with lots of problems like high inflation and the long distance between...

(another student enters and they greet each other)

I can't remember what I was talking about - oh yes about economic growth and then these things always involve the problem of high inflation and destroying the nature and erm..there will be a how do you say - erm between rich people and poor people..the difference is just getting bigger and bigger, never smaller. And when you're talking - when people talking - about these economic growth they're always looking in the bright side but they don't look at the negative side and they just encourage this economic growth happening but I don't really appreciate that because as I said...PAUSE

and then as I read on I don't know which magazine or newspaper this article was actually put - appeared but I guess its more or less like a woman's magazine like Marie Claire PAUSE It says here: 'the creation of a national ideology may seem excessive, even comical to a Western observer' and then they carry on talking about encouraging educated people to marry each other and produce children. Well probably that's what actually happening in Singapore but I think what they talked about here..well, in my opinion, is really extreme case um maybe because I just can't believe this story is usual. If it just extreme case they introducing in this text, I can understand it, but..(said emphatically) I don't like this article so much because I think in this kind of text, generally speaking, I think the British people I mean, and other European people, seem like seem that they looking at Far East people in some different way, I think its like they're ..as if looking at some completely strangers, like people who's mad or who act beyond their comprehension. I don't like..well I don't think um.. I know these articles appear in British magazines but I just don't like the way of introducing these things.

The reason why I said its probably appeared in a woman's magazine is because the word like 'worried' by the tendency of male graduates to 'marry down' and leave 'well-educated women unwed' - these word like 'well-educated' ..'marry down' these things might draw some womens' attention when they're reading these things PAUSE I think this article is very - not very but maybe rather critical about this government's practice of matching male and female graduates because these things doesn't happen in this country, in England, which is very unusual and as if the writer is saying these things shouldn't be happening. That's the impression I get.

They use the example of William and his wife Chew Mei Lian. I think the writer put these examples in order to make the article more enjoyable to read, because its more or less like gossip of people because generally speaking people like reading someone's personal life..I don't think this article has got any - how'd you say - any informative aspect: its more like they took a very unusual, strange story for this particular space and then they just put this article for fun, for entertaining reading'

Comment:*TENOR:*

Domingo's responses remain largely at the affective level through the use of adjectives and adverbs such as 'striking,- amazingly,- surprising,' which express an alignment with the text. However, Yukako, while her initial responses are descriptive and affective, shifts from line 6 to a more critical stance: 'Now I'm not so sure.' This unease later becomes firmed up into dislike of some aspects of the discourse. For, although Yukako eschews words like 'discourse', it is clear that she is responding not to what is said but how things are talked about. She does not dispute the factuality of information but the motive for taking what she suspects is not a typical case: 'Well probably that's what actually happening in Singapore but I think what they talked about here..well..in my opinion, is really extreme case..' (line 54)

There are many instances, as in the above sentence, of statements of belief and opinion, including some ongoing modification of assertions, as when Yukako says : 'I think this article is very - not very but rather critical about this ..' (line 70)

While Domingo appears to align himself with the preferred reading by taking the writer's claims at face value, as in for example 'My God what a place to live!' (line 15) Yukako's report indicates awareness of other possible readings and makes reference to the notion of readerships, eg. 'I know these articles appear in British magazines but I just don't like the way of introducing these things'. (line 62-64) Yukako is able to see her own responses in the context of what she feels to be other likely responses. She shows some awareness of different points of view, that there are potentially a range of different interpretative positions. She stops short, however, of elaborating on reasons for her own difference of stance to that of the model readership, though, as noted below, it is implicit.

FIELD:

While Domingo fails to expand on his responses to the text, Yukako, beyond the opening remarks, expands each point she makes with elaboration, enhancement or extension, sometimes in great detail. For example she offers an enhancement in: 'Now

I'm not so sure about this beginning of the sentence because 'death' and 'traffickers' are very strong words to me' (line 6) She then appears to extend this with an additional point, although arguably it functions as an elaboration, a clarification of the preceding point: 'and then..if people normally say 'Singapore' I dont think of..'(line 8/9)

Yukako's introduction to the next section 'Now I read on' (line 12) introduces an elaboration at the same time signalling a critical reading strategy in the sense that she shows a preparedness to modify her previous response as she processes more of the text; she is willing to give the writer the benefit of the doubt by acknowledging for the moment the appropriateness of the lexical choices made. She concedes, however only to reassert her unease with the text at the end of the section, importantly, though, offering a reason for her discomfort: 'because it sounds like the writer is making fun of Singapore' (line 24)

LEVELS OF AWARENESS:

1. *Textual knowledge:* Yukako's comments relate at the textual level to vocabulary. She makes no use of metalinguistic terms of grammar other than those at a very general level such as 'word' or 'sentence'. However she considers lexical fields and their contribution to the discourse choices selected; thus she relates lexical items such as 'death' and 'drug traffickers' (lines 13/14) to a discourse of 'strict draconian laws'; later she identifies a likely source of the text by establishing a lexical field which relates 'leave well-educated women unwed' and 'marry down' (lines 67-68) as cohesive for a particular kind of well- educated British reader who might share such preoccupations.

2. *Contextual/cultural knowledge:* While Domingo makes no reference to either the context of production or reception, Yukako offers some detail both about the source of the text and its intended readership. Without using metalanguage introduced during the course, such as 'genre' and 'intertextuality', she nonetheless moves beyond a critique of this particular text to comment on texts of this kind. She talks for instance of 'this kind of text' (line 57) and is able to offer a cogent account of the common features of the genre. This is evident for instance in the section:

'I think in this kind of text, generally speaking, I think the British people I mean, and other European people, seem like seem that they looking at Far East people in some different way'. (lines 57-60)

Yukako is here simultaneously commenting on genre (this kind of text); the producers and receivers of the text as they collude in a shared unanalysed view of the world (the British people and other European people) at the same time as alluding to her own outsider reading as someone from the Far East, though not from Singapore. In doing so, she is challenging what Said has called the discourse of orientalism by which the Other is exoticised in a relationship between the West and its object of knowledge which is (Said 1985 in Easthope and McGowan 1992 : 243) 'fundamentally a relationship of power and domination'. In this way Yukako is moving from the immediate contextual circumstances of the text's production to consider the wider implications of cultural stereotyping. Clearly her own identity makes her particularly well placed to offer such observations.

Finally Yukako extends the implications of the 'Singapore' text even further to draw attention to what she wishes to claim as its covert inequalities. These are discoverable, she claims, through mention of the strength of the economy (lines 29-35) to the exclusion of accompanying problems; certain groups of people or social issues become bylined and invisible in the text, such as the poor or the environment (cf 'destroying the nature' line 38). One does not have to share Yukako's particular set of suppositions but they suggest a preparedness to move beyond the world of the text to consider wider social inequities in ways which are finally central to CDA practice.

In short, Yukako, unlike Domingo, is reading text in context, - context understood moreover, as complex and layered; she is aware of both immediate context - why for instance the text might be 'filling this particular space' and wider sociocultural contexts. She is also able to achieve some distance between her own personal reading and the reading invited by the text.

8.4 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with selected students both mid- way through the course and three months after the end of the course. The interviews considered here were those which took place after the end of the course and were restricted to three students who were still contactable: Yukako, Virginia and Domingo. For the sake of consistency I shall focus on Yukako and Virginia, while bringing in some of the comments made by Domingo for illustrative and contrastive purposes. Indeed Domingo had a pertinent and critical point to make about what one could reasonably expect to gain from a 30 hour course such as this, saying:

'in order to give an opinion you have to read a lot OK? It does not depend on a course, it depends on your personal reading. Of course its not because you have read 20 articles on a course that you have more capacity to give your own opinion. You have to read on your own. That's basic. It depends on the subject. If we have to talk about politics or the cinema I can give my opinion'

Domingo was, therefore, sceptical about what gains in knowledge and understanding were possible from a course of this scope. Yukako and Virginia, however, felt more positively about the outcomes, or were simply more anxious to please!

I was guided in my interview questions by the students' responses to the end of course questionnaire as well as my reading of their diaries; the diaries, as more extensive, were the major way of generating questions.

The interviews were informal and loosely structured around key guiding questions which are italicised in the transcripts. Because of the semi-structured nature of the interviews the questions were not exactly the same in each case . Questions which were subsidiary to the major ones varied in response to the direction which the interaction took, and these are given in lower case in the transcripts.

Although one could look at the interview transcripts for ideational and interpersonal features of the kind noted in the other data sources, it seems appropriate to analyse the interviews in terms of the major purpose they served, which was to reach some judgement about the degree to which the students had developed critical awareness of the nature of texts and their place in wider cultural contexts; in

particular, too, to gain greater insight into the classroom context itself and the degree to which pedagogic choices had facilitated or frustrated the students' development, from their own point of view. In short, how did the students see the role of the texts surveyed, their own reading of those texts and the classroom context itself as empowering them as readers, language learners and citizens in the world?

With these questions in mind the commentary will consider first 1) the texts, to include awareness both of features of texts as products and ways of processing texts as readers, then 2) the classroom community 3) the wider cultural milieu

As the interviews were very long, selected excerpts, largely relating to discussion of texts, the classroom environment and cross-cultural learning, are given here. Transcription conventions are the same as for the classroom interactions, except that a long series of dots indicates a missing section of the interaction:

A. Virginia

lines:

CW: I was wondering if you looked at texts in different ways?

- 1 Virginia: My interest in newspapers grew with this course because I didn't really pay attention to the language in the papers. At least in Spain it isn't very good language at all. I don't think you can take one of these texts in newspapers and show it as a model....it's very interesting whether you imply - you have several levels of meaning apart from the most obvious one and the language tells you - if you use passive, you use this determiner or article or you don't use it or you use this pronoun or you don't use it - it conveys a lot more meaning than the text itself.. do you understand what I mean?. So I look at the text in that way as well. I don't really read the news - get the idea of the facts that they are reporting but also the way they are given. Also in the news but in the TV I pay attention to it because it's a very very funny way of reporting news that you have here in England. You always look for a very specific example - a person who is suffering, like when they were talking about the killing bug (the killer bug) they look for a person with that problem and interviewed him and they had number and surname and age and job and they always look for specific examples and you don't find that in Spain. They give you the news but from a very erm detached point of view.. and I did not realise until I started thinking of the way the news are reported.
- 10
- 20

CW: So you think that doing this course helped you think a little bit more about..erm

V: I stop to think - I stop and think about it and previously I didn't.

CW: So it's not just written texts but erm ...

V: In general yes. Its like it talks about the English - the British character and I compare it to the Spanish and there are huge differences.

30 CW: What do you think it suggests about the British character?

V: The importance of the individual. Do you remember the Spanish text talking about the waiter - the text of the tourist - English man who went to Spain - the one we were discussing?... the first lines of the article were the description of the guy and his mother and what he did on Saturdays and his girlfriend and then once you have presented and introduced the person then you can tell the story. Its very personalised very...they always look for an example, and he and he and he and he did that and something happened to him and its everywhere in the news..in the radio.

40 CW: I hadn't thought of that until you mentioned it. Well now you mention it I think of course...

V: You think its natural but it was new for meIt drew my attention.. you need proofs in general - in British newspapers everything's got its name and surname and age and everything even when they go to Rwanda .. and they interview a person and they always give the name and - who cares what's the name, the important thing is the opinion ...they become aware of the importance of the event when they've got someone who has suffered the event and is telling it. It's because its very important individualism here

50

CW: I asked Domingo whether when he's talking English he's more articulate

V: I think it was a very good practice for me to be in a class and at first I felt very scared by the micro but then I forgot about it ..you start thinking your opinion is important. I'm not used to participating in the lessons ... sometimes its more important to get the meaning across than to utter a perfect sentence. You have to forget about being perfect.

60

CW: And do you think the class helped you to become more fluent?

V: And to believe in my own opinions, to defend what I thought was right and by the discussion you see other points of view and people convince you of their points of view. And then you say OK they are right and I was wrong and you look at things in different ways

CW: So did you feel you quite liked the group work and learned from it?

70

V: More than the group work the the - what we did afterwards which was the debate itself ...and then some people disagreed and you had to think again what you had said and defend it or just withdraw

CW: We've talked too about my fourth question which is how the course was different. Do you want to say how its different from courses you do in small groups here in this college?

V:this is the same class (ie. classroom) where we do translation and the teacher sits here and then she starts pointing out the students and says 'you do this sentence' People never give suggestions or discuss what is better. Its more teacher centralised.....

80

In literature it's the other way round. I think they want the people to talk too much so that you miss the point. You start taking notes on what the students say and maybe it's wrong what they are saying but they give your opinion a great importance. In literature you really have to take into consideration the subjectivity, you cannot be objective, you have to be open and accept all the different impressions but sometimes the teachers just shut up - just close their mouth, doesn't say anything at all. The students start talking and talking and talking and sometimes they talk nonsense. Its not what you should be learning

90

CW: Its not constructive talk

V: No

CW: Didn't you feel there was a danger of that happening in our class because there could have been?

V: But we had this pattern - we had to follow a pattern in our commentaries and then, following that, we disagreed in many things but we agreed in many others. But you had your scheme.

CW: Framework.

100 V: Your framework yes but in the literature lessons we were asked I don't know what, a very broad question and you never get the feeling that you have learned something because you have listened to everybody talking about it, everybody with different opinions but the teacher never gives the last word.

CW: So you want something to bring it together some kind of...

V: Cohesion

CW: ...to make the connection

CW: Was there anything else about any text we discussed? Any moment in the class that you found interesting?

110 V: There was an advert of a car talking about Lenin and I had my point of view and for the first time I wanted to make it clear. I think I felt I wanted my opinion to be heard and as I said Spanish students are not very used to that.....

CW: How did you feel about working in the group?

120 V: I felt very comfortable. We were all different and as we're all different you don't feel strange..I don't know how it would have been if there had been any English native speakers....the English (if the group was a mixture of native and nonnative speakers) would get to know different points of view from different countries - they would be able to know about different cultures and we would be able to know why things are like this here because one of the readers to which those texts are aimed would be there to explain us why...

CW: I mean I'm there but I'm not representative. I'm there as the teacher.

V: Yes many of times you were giving your own opinion but it's true your point of view's different - you were an example but you're the teacher as well.

Comments:

Textual knowledge: Virginia's responses indicate some awareness of the principle of syntactic options which had informed the course, for example 'You use this pronoun or you don't use it, this determiner or you don't use it' (lines 7-8) . She offers this account as an elaboration, offered in advance, of her claim that what matters is not the factual verifiability of what is reported but the manner in which facts are reported. (cf lines 10-12). She indicates awareness of how meaning may be more or less salient within texts, that significant meaning may be discoverable beneath the surface, eg. 'you have several levels of meaning apart from the most obvious one' (line 5/6) and 'it conveys a lot more meaning than the text itself (line 8/9)

The Classroom community: Virginia claims that the feedback episodes in particular offered her the opportunity to find her own voice, especially on occasions when she felt strongly that she wished to offer an opinion (for example about the 'Lenin' text). She appears to have had no difficulty with negotiating interpretations around texts, acknowledging the value of testing one's own opinion against those of others and of finally conceding one might be wrong. Moreover, she critiques options regarding pedagogy, by comparing different modes of classroom discourse with which she is familiar: one where turns are clearly and predictably allocated (the translation class); one where students are given considerable freedom, it seems, to take and hold the floor (the literature class) and the class under consideration here, which was, certainly compared to the literature class, tightly framed, with rights to speak allocated, in general, by the teacher, as noted in chapter seven. Interestingly, Virginia does not appear to share my unease with what I judged to be excessively structured episodes and where invariably I claimed final turns for myself. Indeed, she emphasises the value, for her, of the teacher's final summarising turn. (line 102)

A missing dimension in the class, we both agree, was the presence of native speaker readers who would have offered their own perspectives as model readers of the texts we critiqued as well as gaining in turn from a diversity of culturally inflected meanings in a class such as this one. Importantly, Virginia sees the role of the native

speaker not as expert but as complementary resource, a participant who would both contribute to but also in turn gain from discussion which included non-native learners of English. One is not talking of inherently privileged positions here.

The Wider Cultural Milieu: It is at the level of wider cultural awareness of literacy practices that Virginia can be said to have drawn on her access to specific texts in order, in Lankshear's (1994: 10) terms to 'make critical readings of wider social practices' , that is to use texts intertextually and interdiscoursally. Thus she makes the connection with the discourses in a specific text, 'The blame that Spain must share' to note that the personalised manner of presenting a social issue, in the case of this particular text the lager loutism of young British tourists in Spain, is mirrored across different media and genres, evidenced in the way in which news of both domestic and international affairs is presented.

B. Yukako

lines:

1 CW: I just thought I'd ask you a few questions about the reading course particularly I mean one question I wanted to ask - I looked through your diaries and you commented a lot on you know how you read things in different ways. *Do you think, now three months later, do you look at texts in a different way?*

10 Y: Yes, yes I think so. Well because I haven't got much time to read the newspapers these days ...I can't be how d'you say be analytical to read the texts but yeh I think so, specially because I read all the Japanese papers as well to just to keep up..yeh sometimes I really think what actually does it mean this word, why the writer wrote this article, used this particular word because it doesn't really make sense in the context.

CW: Are you saying that even when you read Japanese you perhaps look at texts or notice things that you didn't notice before?

Y: Yes ahah Yes

CW: Can you think of any examples?

Y: Reading Japanese texts is bit different from reading English texts because they use lots of words which implying something -

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something else and sometimes you've got to read it back again and again to understand the meaning ..its so irritating to me ..Once I thought - I read the particular part - and I thought I understood the meaning and when I moved on to the next I realised I hadn't understood the meaning of the previous one and I just have to come back to it....I don't know, its more straightforward English texts.

CW: You find it easier to read English texts?

Y: Sometimes yes, not the tabloids but the quality papers.

CW: Do you think the course improved your reading?

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Y; I think so. I've become more - a bit more critical about reading things. Before when I was reading any text I just went (?): A is B, I thought OK it's B, I believed it. Well, now I think, well it could be Cthe reason why I said that may be based on the knowledge or the experience I've got previously so sometimes if I don't have any of this erm knowledge of one particular thing, I just believe.

CW: You mean you do now, or you did before?

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Y: Yeh, for example if someone talk about engineering or something like that I have no idea what it's talking about so I just believe what the text's saying but things like marketing or travel things I'll be very critical.

CW: More than you were before?

Y: I think I'll be very ..more suspicious about what the text is saying - become more critical I think - not always (laughs) sometimes I do enjoy reading rubbish things.

CW: Of course we all do. You can't be critical all the time. It would be tedious and boring.....

Do you feel that the class helped you become more articulate in giving an opinion... In the group work for instance there was quite a lot of talk and discussion?

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Y; I think I think it did help to improve my English actually because I don't think - if I didn't - if I hadn't taken that class I don't think I would have passed Cambridge Proficiency.....

CW: *More particularly what did you find helpful about the course and what did you not like?*

60 Y: I like the analysing things like adverts and travel brochures. It was quite good fun to do but maybe analysing with other people sometimes I had completely different opinion from - than my partner and sometimes he annoyed me really ..sometimes I feel like I want to be dominant ..if I can't express myself or if I can't agree with other people, I find this very difficult and quite annoying to be honest, especially with the Spanish people. They've got a strong opinion about particular things and sometimes I can't agree with it, but they are so how do you say so persuasive, they got a kind of a power to tell someone, to persuade.

CW: Are you saying they imposed their point of view?

Y; Well sometimes yes, if I may say so. I know I'm a stubborn person because I can't change my mind either. Probably what they say might be right, but I just can't admit it .

70 CW: But what I tried to suggest in the class that there wasn't a right or wrong but that people needed to support their point of view.

Y: Yes that's true that's true and I think sometimes I thought well hang on a minute maybe what the other person's saying may be right I thought.

(we continue discussing who Yukako worked with in the class)

Y: I rather did it on my own to be honest so that I can say well what I want to say but if it's in a group someone from the group -I don't know - representative just represent a view how do you say the overall view of the group but sometimes I think , oh that's not what I think.

80 CW: You should have said. - so when we had the feedback and people were supposed to represent the group, they didn't really you're saying - not to your satisfaction?

Y: Not always but sometimes I'd rather study on my own.

CW: Did you find the framework - the Hallidayan framework that talked about *field tenor and mode* - Did you find that helpful or not?

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Y: I wasn't so interested in it to be honest. I didn't use that handout not so much. Maybe ..if I were studying language maybe I was more interested but erm not so muchWell I am personally I like it. I like analysing language. Otherwise I wouldn't study English at all in the first place. I wasn't so interested in being so-how d'you say - analyse so deeply the one particular text.

CW: Did you find any of the features, like we looked at pronouns and modal verbs and subjects and objects, participants. Did you did you find some of those categories more useful than others? Did you find it useful to have some labels?

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Y : You always saying like use of nouns or pronouns like why is it used here, what's the background of it, why is it used. I thought it's really important to say that why -erm who's saying that and why, where and what implication its got, things like that, I think it's quite important and interesting.

CW: But what you didn't find so useful was the detail?

Y: If I had more time maybe.... I could have done a more detailed..analysed more - like what kind of verb is this, is it a passive or action verb, things like that. If I had more time I didn't mind to do that.

CW: Do you remember any particular class or text that.. particularly you like? .. Is there any class or text or moment that was memorable?

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Y: There are quite a few actually, to be honest. First of all I remember the Chinese women carry the stones. I remember that text very well actually. I think I told you in the diary I was not interested in the text at first but now .. I remember it well and then you said something like as well the ..long-neck...?

CW: Oh yes, the long-necked - the giraffe-necked women of Burma.

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Y: And then you said something like it might be - it sounds very strange to us but for them it might sound strange why we wear high-heeled shoes or why we do our face lift, things like that and then I thought yes, that's true. And then I thought probably if that particular article was published in that country then I think it was just nothing, just ordinary article but here it attracts peoples' attention I can't remember the country Was it Singapore?

CW: It was Burma

Y: Burma yes. If, I don't know, if in Burma there was article about European people - women doing face lift, things like that they will be very interested in I think ..I know it's a cultural difference but I find it's very interesting, particularly when you said that.

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CW: You remembered that? It sticks in your mind?

Y: Yeh yeh.

CW: Was this something that you hadn't thought of before?

Y: Not really no and it all depends your how'd you say you your concept of valuable things and not valuable things as well. For example in Japan like buying flashing cars is a really important thing to show the status, but here people don't care if their car is covered with mud or not cleaned for a year (laughs) or rusty but for Japanese its unbearable really. Since what you said I thought these other things as well. You got different concept completely.

140

CW: Different cultural perspectives.

Y: yeh yeh aha

CW: Is there any other moment in the class or ..a text or discussion we had perhaps?

Y: Yes, yes I remember I think it was Monica and she brought a text about Germany, yes she found it in an English paper - talking about, well speaking ill about German people. She was so angry and I can tell from what she said and things like that I could tell it's probably for English people. It's just article and just one opinion but she took it so seriously.

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CW: Could you understand when she explained?

Y: Yes yes I understand that she was saying something like its all misunderstanding.....I was surprised how angry she can be.

CW: Do you feel - have you felt angry? Reading any of the texts?

Y: Reading a text? Yes yes I am especially about Japanese things, if an English paper is criticising something about Japanese things I would find it quite offensive and feel angry I think yes but not like Monica (laughs)

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CW: Can you remember any other occasion or was there any moment that you felt was embarrassing or difficult in the class- because sometimes we discussed perhaps sensitive issues in the class? We talked about race, women - you know, gender.

Y: Yes ...I remember once you saying something about 'butterfly girls' - Japanese girls - yes well I must admit that I wanted to protest ...I mean I was trying to say something like: Japanese women treated like second citizens in Japanese society but that's not what they want to be.

CW: Japanese women don't want that?

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Y: Don't want to be. I think well inside of them I think. In a way they have to behave like that because otherwise it's not acceptable. Something like that I wanted to say but it was difficult to explain.

CW: Do you think it was interesting having people from different backgrounds?

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Y: It was quite interesting I think. You've got different cultural backgrounds and they've got different opinions. But sometimes at the same time it was annoying as well because you can't agree with them at all. But at the end of the day I thought they just human beings ... when you get down to the bottom line it's just the same thing we're saying, like human rights, about racism, things like that. I thought we shared our opinion I thought. But - I can't explain to you well but it does - we did have cultural differences I think yes

CW: There was a cultural difference but also there was some kind of shared...

Y: Yes aha I think so, for example, I think it was the French girl- I can't remember her name - but she was studying British...

CW: British National Party.

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Y: ... National Party yes BNP BNP. It wasn't about her country because she was from France I think but she was so against it..... and then for example for me, Japanese, I do understand Nazism and things like that but it wasn't so, how d'you say, close to me at all so -until she showed her consideration and she take it so seriously...

CW: her concern

Y: ...it's not even about her country I thought ..I thought if I was asked my opinion I thought I can't say anything because I never thought of it. I never experienced it...

CW: that kind of racism

Y: ...yes but I can understand what they're saying yes, but I didn't have my particular opinion.

2.00

CW: Did you feel at the end of the course you were more aware about some of these issues?

Y: Yes yes I thought now ... but before I didn't I just didn't care at all . I felt a bit ashamed of it because you should be aware of these kind of things.

Comment:

Textual knowledge: Yukako reinforces the impression gained from other sources, such as the diaries, that she is not particularly interested in the level of detail, already much modified and simplified, offered by the Hallidayan framework. Nonetheless she is able to draw on some of the metalanguage used during the course, albeit at a rather general level, eg. 'what kind of verb is this - is it a passive or action verb' (lines 104/105) Rather ambivalently she acknowledges the importance for critical reading of fine-tuned analysis, eg. when she says 'I thought it's really important to say that..who's saying that and why , where and what implication its got', (lines 99-100) but claims that for her own current purposes such close analysis is too time-consuming. On the other hand, Yukako is able to elaborate at some length on ways in which her reading strategies have shifted as a result of the course. This kind of awareness is evidenced in comments such as:

1. 'Reading Japanese texts is a bit different from reading English texts', a point she then goes on to elaborate with a specific example: 'once ..I read the particular part, and I thought I understood the meaning and when I moved on to the next (part) I realised I hadn't understood the meaning of the previous one' (lines 20-25) and

2. 'before when I was reading a text and (it said) A is B, I thought OK it's B, - I believed it - well now I think well it could be C'. (lines 30 - 32) Yukako goes on to qualify this point, emphasising that it depends on her existing background knowledge of the subject matter.

Statement 2 is of greater interest for the purposes of this study in that it arguably represents a development from a metacognitive statement, typified in example 1, to a metacritical one. In other words Yukako shows a metalevel awareness of her own critical stance towards texts in general.

The classroom community: Yukako found the work with a partner on texts (usually just one other person) frustrating. In this she was not alone. Domingo announced that he 'hated groupwork' that he was 'an individualist'. Yukako felt that her partner - they will have varied from week to week - occasionally dominated, that in any case she was not always open to persuasion ('what they say might be right, but I just can't admit it' [line 68]) and that the representative did not always adequately represent the views of his or her co-discussants in the feedback episodes ('but sometimes I think, oh that's not what I think' [line 78/79]) On the other hand, while she resisted some of its outcomes, Yukako seems to have understood the intention of the pair work and subsequent feedback episode, pedagogically speaking, which was to argue through cases for one interpretation or point of view rather than another, to be prepared to abandon existing views in the face of certain kinds of evidence and, in the role of spokesperson for the feedback sessions, to represent a consensual view - or at least specify areas of disagreement - rather than one's own individual position.

The wider cultural milieu: It is at the macrolevel of awareness that Yukako seems to have been most prepared to engage with texts and to reflect upon them, to see them as codes. The texts that she quotes as memorable formed part of a set which, all taken from the magazine 'Marie Claire' over a period of several months, presented women of the East (cf chap 5:10.1 on discussion of texts). Yukako has recalled the vivid image, in the first of these texts, of women in a remote part of China carrying heavy

stones as part of the manual work expected of them, with which she then connects the 'Giraffe-necked women of Burma'. She draws on this second text, as we did in the class, to gain some critical distance from the discourse represented, by hypothesising comparable kinds of representation which might be made of the ways in which Western women adorn or mutilate their bodies. She sees the text as encoding and problematising the position of women in different societies, an observation which she builds on in her discussion of the 'butterfly' metaphor repeated, as a way of describing Eastern women, in two of the texts we examined.

Yukako has appeared to gain in cross-cultural awareness from her engagement with texts and her peers in the classroom and the range of cultural experiences they brought with them. Both have allowed her to notice what has previously been taken for granted, to look at the familiar with fresh eyes; evidence for such growth of awareness emerges both in enhanced awareness of different cultural values and practices, ('it all depends your concept of valuable things and not valuable') and in the need to look beyond the parochial to reflect on issues of social justice and equity which have universal applications and implications. This would seem to be indicated by Yukako's words: 'when you get down to the bottom line, its just the same thing we're saying like human rights, about racism things like that'

8.5 Conclusion

Conclusions as to what the students gained from the Critical Reading course can only be very tentative for a number of reasons. Firstly no test was carried out to establish how critically aware students were on embarking on the course, other than through a very open 'commentary on text' task with which the course began. Indeed it would be difficult to offer conclusive proof as to development, in a case such as this which eschewed assessment by quantitative methods and was in any case more concerned with longer term effects. It is particularly hard to make claims for the role of this particular course in enhancing students' critical awareness, as they were following a number of other courses concurrent with this one, and were living and studying in an English speaking environment, where they were exposed to many cultural influences and diverse kinds of language input. Nonetheless it is possible to

argue, if we refer back to the key principles claimed for critical pedagogy in chapter three, that the students were beginning to notice, at varying levels of specificity, features of texts and literacy practices, located in contextual and cultural settings, in ways which had hitherto eluded them. So, at least Virginia claims when she says at one point in her interview: 'I stop and think and previously I didn't'. The evidence of diaries, reading protocols and interviews suggests, that, for some students at least, their own voices became clearer to them by locating them within other voices in a multicultural classroom community.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUDING COMMENTS

9.1 Revisiting the Key Concepts

This thesis has aimed to link theory to practice. Therefore it warrants asking by way of conclusion : what can the fields of enquiry covered in chapters 1 - 3 offer a practical pedagogy which is centred around critical language awareness? I shall first look at the manner in which critical discourse analysis, critical literacy and critical pedagogy impacted on the particular classroom study described here and then conclude by discussing the potential application of some of the issues for future classroom studies. The aim is to draw attention first to some of the major dilemmas facing a teacher who wishes to take a critical orientation to classroom language work, with foreign language learners in particular; secondly to discuss the manner in which the dilemmas might be resolvable in principle.

9.1.1 Revisiting Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA, which embraces and builds on earlier work in critical linguistics, was presented as the basis of the text analysis aspect of the study for several reasons: first, Halliday's systemic/functional grammar, which underpins most CDA approaches, sees grammatical choices as socially motivated; linked to this is its focus on authentic texts within their contexts of use; third, as an extension by the critical linguists of Hallidayan grammar, is the attention to ideology evidenced in the manner in which relations of power circulate within and across texts. Thus, the class described in this study aimed to provide particular linguistic tools to promote the kind of language awareness which would as I note in chapter one: 'investigate issues of diversity and inequality in the real world as well as in texts, by promoting closer more critical analysis of contextual and textual features of spoken and written language.' (page 5).

As noted in chapter one, there are a number of objections to CDA in principle which centre around the uncertainty of its status as either linguistic or social theory. More particular difficulties arise in the attempt to locate it within a classroom setting. One tension is that most versions of CDA continue to be presented as singly authored

exegesis by those who can lay claim to specific kinds of linguistic knowledge. Once analysis moves out of the hands of the expert into the classroom as an interpretative community, one is faced with a number of dilemmas. Both students and teacher may, for instance, feel unsure of the pedagogically adapted grammar they are working with; if one is not careful one is left with ill-considered responses to texts, not adequately or convincingly supported by textual warrant.

In the classroom study key principles of CDA were understood in a general way, at least as articulated by several of the students. However few of them drew on the full range of the metalanguage presented on the Critical Reading course, either at the contextual or textual level. And of course, even if they had done so, as noted earlier in this thesis, the use of metalanguage in itself is no evidence of enhanced language awareness. This begs the question: do students who draw fairly comprehensively on metalanguage, particularly terms introduced during a specific course of study, gain a greater depth of critical understanding than those whose commentary on texts remains at a higher level of generality? In the Critical Reading class, Virginia was representative of the first kind of student; Yukako of the second. Moreover, while both students claimed, especially in the interviews, an enhanced noticing of texts and aspects of texts as a result of the course, we have no way of establishing the validity of their judgements. Also, even if advancement of knowledge and awareness has occurred, it is quite possible that a very different methodology, not calling itself 'critical' might have produced similar results.

Related to this dilemma is a further one: what is specifically critical about this kind of analysis or about the awareness it aims to promote?. As I outlined in early chapters of this thesis, I drew on ideology as a construct which was central to the notion of critical I wished to present. However while I found the notion of ideology a useful heuristic in conceptualising a rationale for the Critical Reading course, it remained unclear how useful a concept it was for the learners. My intention was to make the underlying philosophy of the class, - its ideology in short - as transparent as possible (cf. chapter three). The evidence of such an understanding, however, is thin. There was therefore a clear inconsistency - which remained unresolved- around the professed need for explicitness, argued at various points throughout this thesis, and

the very uncertain and inexplicit understanding on the students' part of such key concepts as ideology and its sister term, culture.

9.1.2 Revisiting Critical Literacy

As argued in chapter two, one needs to embed the analysis of texts within the context of their production and reception. In looking at collaborative analysis and interpretation in a classroom setting, reception of texts by readers is bound to be a major focus of interest. Most obviously, in order to carry out analysis and interpretation, the students in this study had first to read the text: the course was called 'Critical Reading' rather than 'Critical Analysis'. As noted in chapter two, in many ways reading as comprehension and reading as analysis are antithetical; comprehension involves reader/writer cooperation, for a task to be achieved, a car to be repaired or a complex scientific formula to be understood; reading as analysis disrupts this convergent engagement. Further, in the case of some L2 learners and indeed some L1 learners, an understandable objection to critical reading might be that it is offering cake where bread is needed: the propositional content of texts must be adequately understood before one can undertake critique of linguistic choices from an ideological perspective. This is one of the problems of a critical reading approach with second language learners who may not have an adequate grasp of the system of English, conventionally understood. For instance, if you do not know how the reference system regularly works it is difficult to make claims for the ideological marking of certain choices of reference. In a sense, my study side-stepped this issue as the students involved could, in the orthodox sense, read well in both their first language and in English (and in some cases in other languages as well, although this was not investigated).

I wanted to make the case, as argued at the end of chapter two, for not just critical reading but critical literacy which as a concept is more far reaching, allowing us to consider not just responses to particular texts but ways of relating those readings to wider social and cultural practices. Moreover, features of critical literacy are evident in critical talk; both impact on and are enriched by each other. Both are part of the wider project of critical language awareness. Critical literacy is not a

natural everyday deployment of language, though it builds on experience. It needs to be understood as part of vertical discourse, in Bernstein's (1996) terms, which is constructed through schooling; it may derive from but ultimately is distinct in important ways from serial or everyday, that is, horizontal literacies. In short, critical literacy, supported by and in a mutually reinforcing relationship with critical talk, belongs to the domain of schooling. In arguing this case we need, I have argued, to locate the discussion about CDA and critical literacy within a view of critical pedagogy.

9.1.3 Revisiting Critical Pedagogy

A key requirement of critical pedagogy is that its methodology and texts must be open to scrutiny. As noted in chapter three, as far as possible the sets of beliefs which inform selection of both of these should be made available to the students, bearing in mind the difficulty of acknowledging fully the ideological bearings of our own practice. At the same time, I have presented a case in this thesis for a form of language education which looks to the longer term development of critical talk and critical literacy. This, I have argued, may mean rethinking the continuing emphasis on Communicative Language Teaching which, in emphasising everyday social uses of language, of supposed immediate relevance, both presents to and invites from students short burst and fragmentary language data, and fails to nurture longer term needs. Instead we might aim to provide greater opportunities for the development of constative speech as the kind of language, I have argued, which makes its grounds explicit discursively and, interpersonally speaking, makes reference to personal opinion and judgement with nuanced shades of commitment and certainty. It is, moreover, the kind of language which is generalisable to a wider range of settings.

Once again while these criteria might be accepted in principle one is at liberty to ask what was specifically critical about the pedagogy of the class at the centre of this thesis. Under scrutiny, forms of teaching with pretensions to distinctive kinds of agendas have a way of looking predictably conventional in practice. This was the case with many aspects of the lessons described in this study and claims for moments

which challenged orthodoxy - rare and elusive as they are - may be greeted with understandable scepticism.

Arguably, the development of a critical pedagogy presents more of a challenge even than does a convincing rationale for CDA or critical literacy. First, in many classes, such as large classes of primary or secondary aged children, the teacher's managerial role will be necessarily more dominant than needs be the case in a small class of young adults. Concessions of conventionally teacher held power will bring higher risk of loss of face (cf eg. Reynolds 1990). Even in the case of the Critical Reading class, considerably more congenial to risk taking, some tensions remained hard to resolve. For instance, if the teacher takes the role of an equal class participant who offers authentic 'authored' opinions and judgements, there is the concomitant risk that, because of the authority ascribed to her, she manipulates students to her point of view. If she acts as orchestrator of group discussion, thereby distancing herself from the on-going classroom interaction, then her role as a co- discussant, judged valuable by classroom analysts such as Young (1992) is lost.

However, as noted at the outset of this study the Critical Reading class was not conceived as a clear demonstration of the areas of enquiry which informed it. Questions were raised retrospective to the classroom study, which remains therefore exploratory in nature; illustrative of possibilities rather than demonstrative of good practice. By way of conclusion, we might consider the lessons which might be learned from such a course. Do its acknowledged weaknesses and contradictions mitigate against a practical CLA in principle or might it be possible to propose ways of resolving at least some of these difficulties?

9.2 The Way Forward: *Lessons from the Particular Study*

In terms of what might be learned from the study itself and whether a Critical Language Awareness orientation is feasible or desirable in principle, I should like to revisit the objections raised at the end of chapter two, namely that critical reading and, by the same token, CLA more generally, cannot, should not or need not be taught. In other words that it is unfeasible, unethical and unnecessary. I shall take each point in turn under the headings: feasibility, desirability and necessity :

FEASIBILITY: As discussed in chapters one and two of this thesis, major dilemmas about the feasibility of CDA centre around the inevitable partiality of analysis. However, within the classroom context a more immediate and practical question relates to the devising of a pedagogic grammar which can serve learners in schools and colleges for a wide range of purposes in language study, as well as providing a foundation for critical language awareness. While I have set out reasons which favour systemic/functional grammar as a tool for CLA, it may be that traditional grammatical terms, already known or partly known by students can serve the purpose equally well. Hudson (forthcoming) argues the pragmatic case, by proposing that the teacher's role is not necessarily to teach new sets of terms but to 'guide the pupils through the grammar they know already, providing established ideas and terminology as required' (page7)

There is a sense in both mothertongue and foreign language education, that grammar is making a comeback. There is a growing consensus that students should have available to them a grammar, not simply to talk about idealised forms of language, but one which enables them to articulate generalisations about lexicogrammatical choices in authentic texts within their contexts of use. The use of metalanguage, provided that it is conceptually well-grounded and not learned in merely mechanistic fashion, may support students' understanding of language practices, products and processes. While the present study was inconclusive about the value of the use of specific terms, I found in a study of early literacy (Wallace 1990) that the explicit use of linguistic terms, such as, for instance, the term 'past tense' can help students to clarify for themselves significant features of written texts.

In other words grammatical knowledge, and the ability to articulate this, has the potential to enhance literacy development. Moreover, conventional and critical stances need not be incompatible. For instance, in terms of understanding the role played by certain textual features in comprehension, critical reading can be supportive of what I have called orthodox or conventional reading, that is, reading as comprehension. In critical reading students are inevitably forced to scrutinise core, unexceptional textual features as well as those which might be claimed to carry some

ideological significance. Both are defined by reference to each other. In this way critical awareness may develop in tandem with a growth of understanding more generally about the nature of texts and features of the English language.

DESIRABILITY: As I note in Wallace 1995:347 there is a whiff of missionary zeal around projects with audacious not to say arrogant ambitions to change the world. There is a danger, as Widdowson (personal communication) cautions, that one is promoting not enhanced critical - and therefore independent - thinkers but 'instruction in ideological partiality'. There is no doubt that because CLA is a pedagogy which makes no claims to disinterestedness but is committed to the pursuit of change towards a better world, the teacher's own ideological role necessarily comes to the fore. We may (cf. Wallace op cit: 347) be replacing the tyranny of the conventional classroom texts with the tyranny of the most powerful interpretative voice in the classroom, that of the teacher. As Janks (1993) found in the pilot of her Critical Language Awareness materials, students may feel not challenged but threatened. Moreover the students who experience such feelings may be just those who, potentially, have most to gain from enhanced critical awareness of the texts and practices which combine to reinforce their marginalisation.

Clearly, where the stakes are higher the risks are greater and the consequences worse, when the project fails. It is for this reason that careful thought needs to be given to the place of a critical pedagogy within wider social and institutional structures. For various reasons I was able to offer a very specific kind of course to students who had opted to follow it. However, for critical language awareness to be meaningful in a wider sense and for the longer term, both for foreign language and native speaker students, it needs to be not a marginalised project but one which commands the respect and commitment, if not of the mainstream, then of significant numbers of cooperating teachers and learners.

At the local classroom level, we might aim for a negotiated understanding that the contributions of all course participants will be valued and carefully considered and that strategic interventions will be ruled out of court; that is, contributions are to be intended as cooperating in the pursuit of greater understanding, not as persuading

others to one's particular point of view. The presence of a critical stance, in its sense of preparedness to resist, must be balanced against the essentially collaborative nature of classroom enquiry if it is to be conducted as a rational pursuit of greater truth and truthfulness.

Ethical dilemmas arise, I would argue, not in decisions about overall values of respect for others - my starting point in this thesis, as noted at the close of chapter one, was the non-negotiable nature of these - but at more local specific levels. It is clearly very difficult to make judgements about what kinds of statement in which written or spoken context are prejudicial to certain groups of people, -that is, which are judged to be 'racist' or 'sexist' in everyday terms. On many occasions, a teacher needs to make finely tuned judgements as to whether to pursue debate, or to allow a personal opinion to stand unchallenged by fellow class participants. What is important is that judgements about equity and discrimination should be negotiated by the students themselves in constative talk, though clearly this will be steered, with varying degrees of control, by the teacher, as noted in chapter six.

I would argue that ethical assumptions operate in any class. They are simply aired more explicitly in a critical pedagogy, in the sense that issues related to inequality and social disadvantage are on the agenda. It is important to add, however, that such issues need not be presented as 'topics' to be talked about; they may emerge from the discourses embedded within the texts which are brought into the class by teacher and student. The educative value of attention to social justice issues can, I would argue, be defended, if we recall Yukako's words relating to her enhanced awareness of the experience of racism, her sense of shame that such issues had not previously exercised her and her expression of empathy with some of her class mates.

NECESSITY: The final caveat relates to the need for such a language programme for foreign language students in particular. As noted in chapter two, many of the students in this particular class came with well developed critical abilities in their own language. Nonetheless, I would argue that a CLA pedagogy supports foreign language learners in at least two ways: first, although the focus is not on formal language development, opportunities to engage in discussion around texts allow

students to draw more fully on their existing linguistic resources and to stretch them at the same time. What's more, grammatical accuracy, as well as general fluency, can, ultimately, be extended in the search for precision, in wishing to be clear and cooperative in argument.

Secondly, and more crucially, the development of critical talk and critical literacy allows foreign language learners to function in a wider arena than the local, the specific and the immediately relevant. In spite of the likely presence of formal inaccuracies and infelicities in their language production, learners of English as a foreign or second language can be highly effective users of English as a world language, as it embraces a range of settings. My point has been indeed that they are potentially more advantaged on this kind of territory than in day to day, informal interaction.

Finally the whole concept of what might be meant by critical pedagogy, dealt with very partially in this thesis, needs to be more fully explored. The classroom study at the centre of this thesis can only serve to raise questions about the nature of materials and methodology which might form the basis of a pedagogy which is differently focused, designed to serve different ends, from language teaching programmes inspired by the Communicative Movement. Finally, this study is presented, as argued throughout, not as a definitive model of good practice but as a tentative step towards the development of materials and classroom procedures which can help learners to notice language phenomena - and to articulate their observations - in unaccustomed ways. It is inspired by the view that change and progress are possible, that inevitabilities can be challenged. In this spirit, I conclude with words by Raymond Williams:

'It is only in a shared belief and insistence that there are practical alternatives that the balance of forces and chances begins to alter. Once the inevitabilities are challenged, we begin gathering our resources for a journey of hope. If there are no easy answers there are still available discoverable hard answers, and it is these that we can now learn to make and share. This has been, from the beginning, the sense and the impulse of the long revolution. (Williams, 1983: 268-269)'

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APPENDIX ONE

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Beginning in October 1993

A special course in:-

CRITICAL READING

* * * * *

A one semester class on Thursday from 3.00 pm to 5.00 pm in Room 217

Open to students who have successfully completed Cambridge First Certificate or University equivalent.

Do you want to improve your critical reading skills in English?

Do you feel that you would like a fuller understanding of the written texts which you encounter in your day-to-day life in Britain?

This class aims to help you -

- Read between the lines, that is, understand the hidden messages of written texts.
- Understand some of the cultural meanings in written texts.
- See how texts persuade us to behave or think in particular ways.
- Appreciate the ways in which texts are written for different audiences.
- See how texts may be read in different ways by different people.

We will look at a whole range of different kinds of texts, collected by all of us in the course of daily life, including:

- advertisements
- newspaper texts
- leaflets and forms
- textbooks
- magazines

Catherine Wallace

APPENDIX TWO

TEXT SETS

Relating to Lessons Four, Nine and Fourteen

and to Protocol and Interview Data

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

APPENDIX THREE

CRITICAL READING

Lessons Four, Nine and Fourteen

	<u>Page number</u>
1. Lesson Four: Power and Control	1 - 18
2. Lesson Nine: Mandela	19 - 35
3. Lesson Fourteen: Childminder	36 - 67

CRITICAL READING: Lessons Four, Nine and Fourteen

1. Lesson Four: Power and Control

Students: Mirja, Kistono, Blanca, Virginia,
Xavier, Isabelle, Domingo, Yukako, Monica

CW: Okay, welcome everybody, em, I think Monica might be joining us, there's a seat for her there. Em, I am sorry about this small room, but as we are quite a small class, I think we'll stay in here and see, you know, maybe if we can make a change, we will. Em, some of you I know couldn't be here last week and . . . Mirja is it? . . .

Mirja: Mirja.

CW: Mirja, is a new student who has joined us from Proficiency, um, and, and, but I think you'll be able to catch up with the, the sort of approach we've been taking. Em, last week we were looking at advertisements, and we looked, we spent quite a lot of time, I'll just show it to you, I won't go over it again, we, we spent a lot of time talking about this text, which eh, em . . . Xavier? . . .

Xavier: Xavier. (Xavier, pronounced Havier)

CW: Xavier, sorry my pronunciation.

Xavier: No, it's okay. Xavier.

CW: Xavier brought in, and we found, we found we had got quite a lot of interesting discussion about this, um, and I want to try and persuade all of you to bring in texts, and, as some of you have already done, and Domingo did, but I haven't got it with me today unfortunately, but I'll get it for next week. And then if you bring in texts, anything that you find, you know, in, eh, eh, a letter, an advertisement, any kind of text, we can then discuss it, and talk about it together, and do an analysis of it, em, and this is what we looked at last week. Em. And the other text, which I'll just show you, em, you will probably have to share because, eh, unfortunately, I haven't got any copies, but the others have had a look at it, eh, the one we're going to spend a little bit of time looking at, because I think

it's quite interesting, in pairs, in a minute, eh, is this one. Em. But we didn't, we didn't look at this in detail, em, can you all see this?

General: Mmmm, uhu.

CW: It's an advertisement for a car, "Almost anyone can achieve power, the trick is staying in control." And then, the text underneath it is quite interesting, and this page, you can see this image is quite interesting, em, it's, it's almost easier in the photocopy . . . excuse me Christine, we've got a photocopied version here. Do you see, it's a fallen statue? And it's, those of you who had a chance to read it, who is this . . . ?

Various: Lenin, Lenin.

CW: Lenin. Now you might think, well why have we got a statue of Lenin in an advertisement for a motor car, and indeed, a fallen statue. Well, we, we'll be saying more about this in a minute. First I'd like to . . . thanks Christine . . . I'd like to sum up, especially for those of you who weren't here, em, what, em, what kinds of things we're going to be looking at in texts and what kinds of knowledge, background knowledge we need to bring with us, eh, when we're doing critiques of texts. Em, and I've got a, a hand-out to sum this up (shuffles paper, switches on projector) . . . And I'll just . . . right, can you all see this, yeah, that's not too bad is it? When, when we're looking at texts, we need, these are the things we need to think about generally, okay, in the text, and I've, I've presented here three bits of terminology. Em, for those of you, I know some of you are interested in linguistics, this is taken from Halliday, that . . . don't worry about that . . . em, and it's a simplified version of his work, and that's what we are going to be looking at in detail. And the first thing we need to consider is the field of discourse, that is, the topic, put simply, what is the subject matter? What is the text about? Then we need to consider the tenor. This means . . . this is just another word really for style . . . right. If you prefer that. Um, and it's influenced by, not the subject matter, but who is talking or writing to whom . . . right. What is the relationship between the reader and the writer, the writer and the reader. Um . . . and we are going to particularly be talking about this today. The third area to consider is the structure of the text. How is the text structured or organised? Is it, for

instance, um, a narrative text like this one, which we're going to look at, you know, just a continuous running text, or is it an advertisement, or is it something like this, which already looks different, doesn't it, the organisation's different, em, it's got underlining, it's got headings, em, so . . . one of the things we will notice is, how is the text organised as a text. And the clues in the text, this is where the language comes into play and this is what, as we go on, we're going to talk more and more about - the language in the text, okay . . . the first level, then, is to look at the nouns and verbs, if you like, putting it very simply, and adjectives, but particularly the nouns and verbs tell us what the text is about, the subject matter. When we're looking at the relationship between the writer and the reader (someone enters; "oh, sorry", "it's okay", "have a seat in the corner over there . . . sit there in the corner, yes") . . . when we're looking at the writer and the reader, and how the writer makes contact with the reader, which, as I say, this is what we're going to look at closely today . . . this is indicated in the text by names, proper names and pronouns in particular, and, an obvious but quite important thing to look at is personal pronouns - *I*, *you*, *we*, *they* - but particularly - *I* or *we* and *you* - right, how are those very simple words used in the text, and what do they signify? And, when we come to look at the structure of the text, then you will be looking at things like paragraphs, how paragraphs are structured and organised . . . if a text has paragraphs, already for instance you can see this text, which is one that I'll be asking you to take home with you to look at in detail, is organised very clearly in paragraphs. Is that significant? Um, but we're also looking at co-ordination. Do you know what we mean by co-ordination? Um. In other words, features like conjunction - *and*, *but*, *however*, *although* - all those sorts of features. So you see, this course is not just looking at texts, it's also being a little bit analytical about language. Um, and next week I'm going to give you a frame . . . a much fuller framework . . . this is not, I don't want to frighten you next week . . . eh, I'll give you a fuller framework which is going to be the framework we will be working with for the rest of the course. And it will be based around these three areas, you see, field, tenor and mode. But it will be more

detailed than ~~this~~. But if we put it differently, in terms of questions, these are the questions . . . let's look at this list here . . . these are the questions that we need to ask ourselves. Eh (referring to OHP) we'll cover that up for the moment. Em. (a few moments of some disturbance on tape; "never mind, I don't want to fuss about it") . . . These are the questions then we need to ask, can you all see this . . . first, which relates to topic, what is this text about? Now this might seem easy, it's obvious what a text is about. But actually, it isn't always obvious, it isn't always obvious. Um, if we look . . . can I have the McDonald one again . . . did you put it away? Because that's a nice one just to look at, at a glance. ("Thanks . . ."). This is quite an interesting one, because, what is this text about? I keep coming back to this, because you, you know, it's quite striking visually. Even if you haven't seen it, it's supposed to be the kind of text you can take in immediately. Is it about hamburgers? Is it about McDonalds? Not really, is it? But, well, I'm going to leave that open, but you see, with, with many kinds of texts, if not most, even asking this question, what is the topic, is not obvious, it isn't straightforward. Secondly, why has the text . . . this is the most important question, really this one should come first before anything else . . . although all these questions are important . . . why has this text been written? Why has this text been written? To persuade, to inform, to entertain, or a mixture perhaps. Em. The third question, that we were looking at particularly last week, was, who is the reader of this text? To whom is this text addressed? And of course all these questions inter-relate. They're all related, together, okay. Um, so, for example, if you ask your question . . . if you ask why had the text been written, that relates very much to the reader of the text, the kind of reader. Um, now these questions in red, down here, are the ones we're going to move onto. We're going to move onto: how is the topic written about, and what other ways are there of writing about the topic? These two questions are central for critical reading, because what we'll be doing is considering always, how could the text have been written in a different way. Okay. The writer has written it in this way, let's imagine it being written in many other kinds of different ways. But we'll be moving onto these questions because these relate to the

detail of the language within the text. But we also . . . and this is in blue . . . in order to answer these questions, we need not just to look at the text itself, but to bring knowledge of the world. Er. So these are other questions . . . sorry, it's got smudged here . . . these are other questions we can ask. First of all, have we seen this kind of text before? Is this a completely new cultural experience? Again, I'll come back to this one. Is . . . have we seen this kind of text before? Some of us have, but maybe some of us haven't. ("Yes . . . Kistono?") Kistono was saying last week that in his culture, in Indonesia, this would be an unusual kind of text, it's, it's actually, er, trying to organise a protest, a demonstration. Now if you were in a, a society where that doesn't happen very much, or, or maybe it does but not about, you know, these sorts of issues, er, where there aren't so many pressure groups, and so on, then this might take, you know, be a bit more complicated to work out. So, have we seen this kind of text before as well as, do we know about the topic? The term we use when we're talking about the kind of text, if you remember, just to remind you, is *genre*. Remember, I think in the first couple of weeks I introduced that term. G - e - n - r - e. Genre. Let me just write it on the board here. If you can see this. That is a French word actually, but we use it to mean the type of text, and some genres are, if not most genres are, culture-specific. Em, I want to say a little bit about genre . . . in a minute . . . now where are my notes, okay . . . are there any questions, or can I just move on then? . . . No? Let me say a little bit more about genre, just quickly. Em. There are genres which are continually being created, coming into the market, we looked at one last week, men's magazines. Magazines for men. Not, sex magazines. Because they've been around for a long time, like Playboy. Um. And they've changed considerably, those magazines. But magazines which are more like the women's ones, I've got an example here, but they're for men. Now again, in some cultural contexts you wouldn't find those, and it, it's a phenomenon that's quite interesting, that people have studied, you know, the contents of men's magazines. Another genre, em, that I imagine most of you have . . . and we're going to move on this week and perhaps next week to talk about this particular genre, partly because some of you expressed an interest in

this the first week . . . is, well, who can say what it is, if I just hold it up?

Various: (answers unclear on tape/refer to politics)

CW: Well, that's the topic, isn't it. Er, what is text about? Yes, you can see it's politics, how can you tell it's politics.

Various: (answers unclear on tape/refer to John Major)

CW: John Major, yeah. Now you associate John Major with the Conservative Party. It's in fact quite interesting that they, his, picture is on the front of the page here. But, so politics we can say, yes, that's what the text is about, and you're using your background knowledge about the topic here, aren't you, because you know who John Major is. But, let's take this second question, why has this text been written? Em, which relates really to the kind of text it is. Do you need me . . . do you know what it is?

Woman: (answer unclear/refers to the Conservative Party)

CW: Yes, that's right, and what do we call this kind of . . . ?

Woman: Pre-election magazines, I don't know.

CW: Very good. Pre-election. Because you're quite right. This magazine, em, appeared, it's not recent, it appeared before the last general election, and in fact we have a special word for it, which you've got here. Manifesto. Probably a name, a term you use in your own countries. But again, the, the whole, the whole idea, the cultural practice of having manifestoes, as we call them, and the form they take, what they look like, is culture-specific. I don't know if, if they would look like this in China, Indonesia, Japan.

Students: (general responses/"never seen one")

CW: You've never seen one. So maybe this . . . you have political parties of course, don't you . . .

Woman: (unclear/yes, yes but I've never seen this kind of thing before. Another student refers to the publication).

CW: Published. It's a glossy publication.

Man: (unclear/can you buy it at the newsagents?)

CW: Yes, you buy it, it's got a price at the back, £1.95. So what about in Spain?

Man: You don't have to buy them. They give them to you.

CW: They give them to you. (general reaction) . . . The

circumstances around this text are already different. You know, you're amused that one should buy this. What about in Germany?

Woman: You get it for free.

CW: Even something like this?

Woman: (unclear/they are thinner normally; not so glossy).

CW: Yes, not so glossy. (general reaction) . . . the glossy, I don't, to be honest, although I've lived in the States, I don't know about the States. But again, this is, em, this is a particular genre, er, you know that therefore is culture-specific. Em, and, so, you get, em, you also get genres within genres. In other words, certain kinds of advertising appear in certain kinds of magazines. Right. An advertisement being a, well, an advertisement might be a single page, it might be several pages. We looked at some examples last week of advertisements that spread over successive pages - must cost a fortune, but they are embedded within a magazine, a newspaper. And the place where they're embedded is significant. So if you were going to do, em, er, a study of . . . and those of you, the Erasmus students, I hope you will do this study, because people who have done it, have done very good ones before, of, say, doing, em, an analysis of an advertisement, you would need to talk about where it appeared. You know, whether it was in a woman's magazine, a man's magazine, a liberal newspaper, a conservative newspaper. Would you expect there to be advertising in these magazines?

Various: No.

CW: No, no, there aren't, you wouldn't expect . . . well, who knows . . . but it would change the genre, wouldn't it, if you suddenly had McDonalds on the back page (laughter), or British and American Tobacco. We know, as it happens, that British and American Tobacco support the Conservative Party, you know they pay . . . but they wouldn't dare, would they, have a little advertisement for cigarettes (general laughter) on the back page. And so these are conventions about texts that we need to be familiar with. Em. The other thing about, eh, did I bring my little . . .

Isabelle: Why shouldn't they do it? If they are trying to sell, and this attracts a readership, so why shouldn't they do it?

CW: Why shouldn't, eh . . . well . . . what does everybody . . . Isabelle

is saying well, why shouldn't they have a commercial advertisement in, em, a manifesto?

Response: Unclear/woman says it wouldn't look so nice.

CW: It wouldn't look serious, it wouldn't look serious. And, it's, you know, it's interesting this business of seriousness. There is an American feminist magazine, eh, which has no advertising at all. But the problem if you have no advertising is that, who pays, who pays for it? And this really is another question we ought to ask in our list of questions, er, which I haven't put in, um, but it is, who pays for a publication, and why do they pay for it? Well, because they think they will benefit. And so, the most . . . even more important perhaps than why has a text been written is, *cui bono*, to who . . . do you know that Latin expression? Who benefits, to whom is the benefit. Do you see what I mean? The thing about advertising is that the advertisers expect to get something back, and so, the argument goes, if advertisers support a magazine, they may, and they probably do, have some influence over what goes in the magazine. Do you see what I mean? It's, it's the same with television programmes in fact. You know, we happily watch our commercial television and the advertisements without thinking that, you know, the advertisers are paying for the programmes. Might they not want to influence . . . in perhaps subtle ways sometimes, but none the less influence . . . what is in the actual programmes. You get the idea anyway, you see what I mean. The thing, the other thing about advertisements is that they change over time. They take, they reflect social concerns, and so . . . I'll just give you some examples here to show you what I mean. You get for example, environmental ones. This is, eh, this is one. "You have been alerted to global warming on the box. Help us to fight it by filling in this box." It's, em, it's actually an advertisement for heating, or controlling heating.

Woman: On the box?

CW: On the box, on the television, right, we always call the television the box, on the box. And, this is typical you see because of the plays on words. On the box, in the box. Help us to fight it by filling in the box (laughter). I'll leave that for you to have a look at in the break. I'll leave these. Em. I haven't found the one I was

particularly looking for . . . well, let's . . . no, let's take this one anyway, which is big enough to see. And this is "Power to the people". And it's an advertisement for GEC, which is General, a company, General Electric Company. Now . . . it's an enormous advertisement, very little visual input, but a strong verbal message. Now, why do you think this, these words were used? It will help you if I say it was, it appeared in about, well, it was 1989. What had happened?

Man: Privatisation?

CW: Good guess. But then it says, if you read it, on the 23rd of September, in the great hall of the . . . this is an interesting one for you Yang-Yang, because it's, it's a Chinese reference . . . in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, GEC Turbine Generators signed a contract worth over £250million. "Power to the people" is a reference to . . .

Man: Political power, yes?

CW: Yes, the breaking down of political barriers, and of course it's, it's . . . People's Republic of China, "Power to the people", and it's also (laughter) a slightly ironic way, a little humorous . . . ironic way of referring to communist discourse, you know, "Power to the people", or it's a western idea, you see, it's a western idea of capital, of, of communist, the way communists talk, eh, people in the east. I'm trying to find another one here, yeah, I've got it here, this is the one, sorry, look, it's got a bit torn but it's interesting to think . . . when do you think this first appeared, this advertisement? Is it a recent one, can you see? It says, "To Raisa with love".

Students: Response unclear.

CW: Yes.

Woman: A few years ago, a film?

CW: What film? Who was Raisa, who is Raisa . . . ?

Students: Gorbachev's wife.

CW: Gorbachev. Gorbachev. Could you imagine, would this advertisement appear now?

Students: No.

CW: No, because nobody, Raisa, Gorbachev is not a person in the public field any more, em, but at the time, this was, as you might

expect . . . of course, it's not literally her, but it, they're trying to suggest the name you see. And there was, there were a whole lot of advertisements after the end of the so-called cold war, that looked positively, that, em, that referred positively to the links between east and west, do you see, as this one does. So what you find then in advertising is the, the reference to cultural events, to contemporary cultural events, and this brings us really to the car ad., and the statue of Lenin. Right. Em. We've got a very different image, haven't we, going from Raisa, the . . . I don't know if you've . . . I don't think Lenin's tomb is actually in this picture, but it is Moscow Square, right, you've got a positive image, eh, of Moscow Square. We now move to this very different image that has been brought into this advertisement for the car. So I'm going to stop talking now, and ask you to get into pairs, because although I know . . . see, you haven't all got, em, a copy of the advertisement; there are enough between you, and I'd like you to work in pairs, and do, em, a close analysis of the language, okay. Look at that image, em, I'm, I'm going to leave the original here so that you can look at the text. And I've also got . . . so many bits of paper here, I can't find it of course . . . somewhere hidden away here . . . I've got the hand-out we were using last week, em . . . and I'd like you to use this same hand-out. Because what we were looking at was: what kind of reader is assumed by the text? So, I want you to look at the nouns, adjectives and the verbs which signal to you a particular kind of reader. Going back to the McDonalds text, just to say what we were doing last week, we felt at the end of our discussion that, for instance, with words like, em, exploitation, consumerism, em, this suggested a sort of left-wing readership . . . I mean . . . and writer . . . you know . . . what kind of people talk about exploitation? I think it's part of a left . . . do you know what I mean. Even, em, junk food, even the rainforest; junk food/rainforest suggests, suggests an environmentalist discourse. We use this term *discourse* to mean the sorts of language that particular groups of people often use. Right. There's a way of talking that characterises people of the left. There's a way of talking that characterises the Conservatives, see what I mean, in any language group. We are going to be looking at this ("thanks") in much more

detail, em, but for the moment I want you to look at some of the vocabulary in this, the car text, to work out, for instance, is the reader . . . we use the term *model reader* . . . is the reader of this text educated? Highly educated? Eh, or not? Em. Is it possible to say what social class this person is through the language used? What political views? Do you see what I mean? See how you get on. We, we did, we did quite a lot on this last week, and those, perhaps, who were here, can help. So, we are going to need to share, so you can work together because . . . you were here last week anyway . . . (offering advice about sharing the hand-outs). Just to explain the way it works. The original text was a double page. So you see, unfortunately, the way it's been copied, you've got to look at this and then turn round, okay. You don't get the effect quite so well. Em. So, I'm going to leave you to talk about this for fifteen minutes. It isn't, those of you who weren't here . . . if the others could be a bit patient and allow them just to read through it. It's not a long text, but the language is quite interesting I think, and then you can start filling in your perception of the reader. We're answering . . . in other words, we're looking at tenor at the moment. That question . . . I'll take that away . . . I mean, just ask me if it's not clear what I'm getting at.

(Students work in pairs)

CW: This worked quite well last time. Are you ready in each pair or group just to say something, because as I went round, I heard, people . . . people were making some very interesting points about this text. Um. Alright. So, who's going to start, who's going to start here?

Woman: We will.

CW: Yeah. I've forgotten your name already.

Woman: Mirja.

CW: Mirja. Alright. Everybody listening because, ssshhh, at this . . . Xavier . . . at this point, ssshhh, ssshhh, ssshhh, ssshhh . . . could you all listen now because I'm going to record people's responses and see how far we reacted in the same way. Mirja first. A few minutes each.

Mirja: (Laughter) Oh God. Alright. We don't think that the

reader . . . should be . . . is an educated readership, because you need, you need to have some political knowledge if you want one to understand this advertisement, because otherwise it is just impossible, like with the, especially the sentence on the second page, ". . . 'not merely a struggle for power but a struggle against power'."

CW: Yes.

Mirja: The Lenin sentence. And, em, what else did we say . . . ah, this, the reader should have some money anyway, I think. So, I mean, if you read the Guardian you are more educated as well . . . and you have maybe a little bit more power, like in economics or - political power, or you are influenced in these things, and, em, what else did we say . . . oh God, I don't know any more.

CW: Anything else you want to add? That's good so far.

Blanca: Well, it's, eh, it's for men especially because it's like eh men are in politics, they know more about the world, what's going on, I mean it's . . .

Mirja: . . . they're "supposed" to know more . . .

Blanca: Yeah, well, they're supposed (general laughter) . . .

CW: Yes, yes . . . you always . . . yes . . .

Blanca: And the language is quite . . . difficult as well, I mean . . .

CW: And men can understand more difficult language you think?

[Blanca: (Laughs) No, I don't think so, but they may think so.

[Various: General responsive noises.

[CW: Yes, this came up I think in . . .

[Blanca: . . . especially compared with . . .

[CW: Yes, when you look at the other one, that makes the contrast, doesn't it, I think some of you had a chance to look at this one, which is, you can see, clearly, for women . . . can you . . . right, em, by comparison . . . er, the heart shape and so on Yes, so we've got an educated reader, em, somebody with political and economic power, and male. Right, let's, let's move on and see if we can . . . thank you very much, that's good . . . eh, Domingo.

Domingo: Eh, well we have the same thing as them, I mean, you know, intellectual and all that, political, maybe male, we agree with that, and, er, just to say two more things, er, it employs technical speech, a little bit of technical speech to give security to the potential

buyer I think, er, when it says all this about "inlet manifold fuel-injection", I don't know if the common reader knows about that, what do you think? . . . When you think about manifold fuel-injection, you have to be really into the matter to know about that, so it gives importance to the, er, I mean it gives security to the potential reader . . . and also, what else do we have, I don't remember, excuse me . . . what is it, er . . . and I believe that the whole advertisement doesn't make sense, at all (general laughter). Yeah. And I think that they do that on purpose, I think they do that on purpose because that way . . .

Virginia: It does. It makes sense.

Blanca: It makes sense.

Domingo: It makes sense? The whole thing?

Virginia: It makes sense. Yes. Very clear.

CW: Christine?

Virginia: No, Virginia. Virginia.

CW: Oh, Virginia. I meant Virginia, yes. Virginia.

Domingo: I wish everybody could explain to me, you know.

CW: Virginia, okay. Virginia thinks it does make sense . . .

Virginia: . . . yes it does

CW: . . . so would you like to say what the sense is.

Virginia: It does because, em, the, the car is a super car, it's a powerful car, so it's like, em, a big enterprise, like a country. Lenin, er, applying his, er, principle, was not able to manage the political system in his country and he fell. But you, applying this system, and being responsible, with control, you can control this super car.

CW: Who is you, by the way?

Virginia: Em . . .

CW: When you say, "you can control"?

Virginia: Em, the man.

Various: The man.

Virginia: The economic probably . . .

CW: The male reader?

Virginia: I don't know why male, because I didn't find anything, but . . . you get that feeling . . .

Blanca: . . . yeah, you get that feeling . . .

Virginia: . . . that it's a man. I was looking for something here that

would tell me that it was a man, the reader but, couldn't find anything, but, you, you have that feeling.

CW: This is what we're going to try and do, you know, when we look at the language, we get a feeling about something, what is it in the language that gives us that . . . I think, em, over here, um, if I can get the microphone . . . I don't know whether it's working . . . you had some thoughts, didn't you . . .

Yukako: (Laughter) Pardon?

CW: (Laughs) She's shy now. You were saying that you . . . that you picked out some of the vocabulary that gave you the impression of a male reader.

Yukako: Oh yes, yes . . . I thought . . . especially the phrase, it says, "A 16 valve 2 litre power plant with variable inlet manifold fuel-injection."

CW: Yes, yes. You see it's not just "manifold fuel-injection", it's that whole phrase, isn't it, it's a whole noun clause, isn't it . . . em, a 16 . . . you can hardly say it, "A 16 valve 2 litre power plant with variable inlet manifold fuel-injection." Right, that's all one noun phrase. But why does that suggest masculinity to you?

Yukako: Well, because it's, er, it's about car, and if you are talking about car-maniac, it's normally a male . . . for example, my brother is crazy about cars (laughs) . . . it's, I mean, automatically, it indicates to me that it's about man.

CW: You mean the level of technical detail perhaps, yes. You don't agree?

Virginia: I mean, all the, um, advertisements . . . advertisements about cars, they all have to talk about, er, technical things, the new things that the car offers.

Xavier: Not always.

CW: Well, look at the other one, does the other one?

Various: No.

CW: No . . . I think . . . that is why I gave you this. I think you'll find . . . it . . . does it mention any technical details at all? "Side impact beams". I mean it's much . . . it's not so specific, is it?

Mirja: They don't even say how many miles per hour.

CW: No, no. I mean, in fact, it's, it's, it's all a sort of play on words,

did you notice that, it's like assuming your car is like a boyfriend. Did you get the . . . the joke? Yeah, with the other one. This is how you sell cars to women, you see (laughter), you don't . . . that's the idea, you sell cars to men, you have to be serious. Let's just have a . . . before we take a break . . . let's have Isabelle . . . and Xavier. Did you have any more comments on, eh . . .

Isabelle: Yeah. The relation between the car and the statue has got a lot of relation . . . em . . .

CW: For example, what is the relationship between the car and the statue?

Isabelle: Well, the first sentence, the first sentence says, "Almost anyone can achieve power, the trick is staying in control." The statue fallen means that Lenin had power but lost the control of it, um, when he lost. The car, with the new, with this new system, which is the "ICD roadhanding system", you will have this control of the power because the, the car is very powerful, but with this sytem you achieve this control.

CW: Yes, so you have power and control as well.

Isabelle: Yes.

CW: Yes, which . . .

Isabelle: It's, it's a plain contrast, so you can see more the good thing of one side and the bad of the other, it enlightens the good thing of the other . . . and, and he pointed out also the colours . . .

Xavier: . . . the cars . . .

Isabelle: . . . because here we can see . . .

CW: Yes, the colours . . .

Isabelle: . . . that . . . he can tell you what he thinks about the colours . . . because it's also a contrast . . .

CW: Do you want to say, Xavier, about (unclear . . .)

Xavier: Yes, I think it's a political relationship, it's the colour of the communism, the red for the car . . .

CW: . . . good . . .

Xavier: . . . ah . . . and the blue, er, is the colour for a Conservative Party, for the establishment (laughs), you know . . .

CW: Oh, that's interesting . . . so you think, do you think it's pro-establishment, is it in favour of the establishment . . .

Xavier: . . . yeah, mmhmmm . . .

CW: . . . or is it in favour of capitalism or the west in any way?

Xavier: . . . yeah, mmhmmm . . .

CW: Or not?

Isabelle: Well, if, if the red is, is communism, I don't know why it should be in, on the car. I think it's supposed to do with the blue, deeper, you know like a dark contrast, like, the, the car's colour stands out, while the dark of the blue is, make it more gloomy, no . . .

CW: . . . yes, yes . . .

Woman: . . . more like falling, more like something disappearing.

CW: It is very gloomy, there's a sort of sinister feeling here, isn't there, in the original (general response), yeah, but it's also . . . the image particularly seems to me very anti- the Soviet regime, doesn't it, to me, to me, I don't know how you feel . . . any more comments? Er. Monica and Yang-Yang, did you want to say anything?

Monica: I think it's clever because you have to stay in control of a car, so, they are quite right . . . in this respect.

CW: Yes, yes, yes. So, it's a clever play on words, sort of, the power and control, the balance between power and control, and what is the difference, you know, how you need to use power properly, keep control, the car is powerful and you have to control it, em, and I think, er, you put it very well when you said it was comparing the power of the car with the power of a whole . . . controlling a whole country, yeah. Okay, well thanks very much, you did a good job with that, thank you very much. Let's take a break (?), because it is sort of hot in here, we need to move around, let's take ten minutes, try not to make it any more, and then we'll go on to look at some more texts. Okay. I don't even know if this was working, I think it was working.

Blank section of tape. Near the end of side two, a brief discussion which relates to a different exercise:

CW: So, would anybody, would anybody like to (unclear) something interesting about the way, the way the reader is addressed. Anybody? Domingo?

Domingo: Well, I think it's interesting, that the fact is, most of us need to see . . . that (?) has something in common; we, I mean that the writer and the reader have something in common, that gives a sense of familiarity and informality, to the reader and . . . and also it is interesting to see that more or less in the middle, it says, so "you can trust them", he (?) on the company, and then refers to the company, I don't know if you understand me, em . . .

CW: I do, yes, yes, that's an interesting point . . .

Domingo: . . . at the beginning, the writer was involved in the company and now in the middle, he (?) in the company, and then (?) he becomes involved again in the company . . .

CW: . . . no, I think that is quite interesting, yes, I mean, yeah . . . it shifts, the pronoun use shifts through the letter, em, so that, em, the, the, as Domingo said, the first incidence of the *we*, most of us need to (? save), it's, we call that the "*we*" of solidarity, there's a special word, it's, if you want, it's *inclusive we*, where the writer and the reader include each other, to create a feeling, as Domingo put it well, of closeness, of solidarity, um, to get what we want out of life, right. It's making it seem natural, isn't it, this is what we all want, you and me, you know, we may be very different, but we all want this, don't we. Um . . .

Woman: . . . but as well I think it creates a feeling of individuality, I mean, you and me, and you are not, eh, ordinary people, you are someone special, so you can't have this because you are different, or, I don't know . . .

CW: Yes, good, I mean, there are both things, you know, it's a sort of collusion, yes, it's, we, we people, you know, together, but we're a little bit special, yes, and this is very important, it's not just the common people out there . . .

Response: (unclear)

CW: Yes . . .

Response: (unclear) . . . it's not just anybody, it's em, em (unclear) somebody in particular . . .

CW: Yes, yes, this, this is interesting, I mean, it's not . . . we had "Dear Customer" before, didn't we, eh, we could have had, "Dear Yukako", (laughter), that would have been different again, "Dear

Madam", you see, so all the . . . at every point, the choice of name itself has some significance, good point, em, and the, the question, we could look at a bit here at the same time: wouldn't it be wonderful if money was never a problem, right . . . it's a shared dream . . . yes, it doesn't say, if you or I, it omits that, in that first sentence, "wouldn't it be wonderful" . . . "*you*", now the *you* there, that first *you* is interesting, "you could pack up tomorrow and fly" . . . it's not clear whether it's *you* individually, or "*one*". What did you think, did you think about that . . .

Students: Response unclear.

CW: You think it's impersonal. Yes, I don't think it is so . . .

2. Lesson Nine: Mandela

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Students: Domingo, Sylvie, Blanca, Mirja,
Sylvain, Virginia, Xavier, Yukako, Monica

[The transcript opens with discussion of news reports in newspapers, brought in by teacher and students.]

CW: I think that's going now, let's try that. Yeah, we were looking at this one - I'm sorry about that - "France facing terror wave by Islamic groups". (Pause). Any comment on that? (Pause). Would we . . . let's ask the question a little bit differently. Would we expect to find this . . . (coughs). . . this in a British newspaper, let's say in The Times or The Guardian?

Woman: No.

CW: Why not?

Woman: Because I, I noticed that usually in Britain we don't speak, er, a lot about France. France is not an interesting subject. France, Italy, Spain . . . Germany, sometimes. But, er, Briti, er, Great Britain and the United States . . .

CW: That's interesting. Some of you, the rest of you, are nodding. Have you noticed this as well? Would you say?

General: Yes.

Man: Nothing about Europe.

CW: Nothing about Europe.

General: Nothing. No.

CW: US and Britain. You're very . . . yes. You see, even I'm not aware of that in the way you are. You know, when you talk about . . . so I do, I don't notice everything, I can be fooled, you know. (General laughter). Em, because simply we don't think of things. We don't, if, you know when I'm reading the British newspapers, I think, well, of course, you know, I don't think, what is missing? We don't ask those questions. But of course it's striking that a paper that has a different, you know, orientation does take different topics - thanks - em. Domingo, which, which one have you got there?

Domingo: The Times. It's today's Times.

CW: Yes, shall I . . . it probably is easier if I hold it up because, em, if you don't mind. Em. "MPs vote for shopping on Sundays". Topic? Is the topic transparent?

General: Yeah.

CW: I think, I think it is pretty well, isn't it, it couldn't be clearer really. Um. "MPs vote for shopping on Sundays", I mean, that's what happened.

General: Mmm uhu.

CW: Different . . . the next question I think is a bit more interesting. Why has this been chosen as the front page news? I mean, because when, remember when we asked that question, we were saying, why this rather than this, and this, and this . . . rather than all the other things . . . that might be happening in Europe, and not just in Europe, but in Africa, round the world, I'm sure you'd find Africans and Australians saying, there's nothing about us either. Why, do you think?

Domingo: Because that's very important for the economy.

CW: You think it . . .

Domingo: . . . for the economy . . .

CW: . . . is important?

Domingo: Yeah. Definitely it is.

Woman: It's a current subject.

CW: It's topical . . .

General: Yeah.

Sylvain: People were waiting for the answer . . . at the, em . . . it's been, em, em, the time, em, em, there were talks about it, so people waited for the outcome.

General: Yes.

Woman: It's Christmas-time when they want to sell as much as they can. (General laughter).

CW: That's a good one, yeah. I think that's a . . . em. To me, I have to say, for me personally, I find it deeply boring. (General laughter). I mean, I couldn't care less, but I suppose . . .

Man: Me too.

CW: . . . you know . . . it must be of interest to, to some people. It was . . . in fact, has, have any of the other newspapers got the same story?

General: Oh yes, every . . . the same.

Woman: The Guardian as well.

CW: Yes, even the, even . . . I say, even The Guardian . . .

General: Yes.

Woman: Even The Guardian . . .

CW: . . . even, I say, right. Expressed differently of course, "Go ahead for Sunday shopping". And, how does The Independent put it, Blanca?

Blanca: "MPs come down (?unclear) for shopping on Sundays".

CW: Yes.

Woman: I've got, "Bye-Bye Sundays" (General laughter).

CW: Ah that's nice, yes. "Bye-bye . . . ?"

Woman: And . . . this one is "Bye-bye Sundays" . . .

CW: . . . oh right, yes . . .

Woman: . . . and this is, "Open all hours".

CW: Yes, yes, right. But it's interesting that if we look at The Sun there, er, Mirja, that's not the main, er, we've got it on the front page, but what is the main news story?

Mirja: I really don't know what this . . . I haven't read it as yet.

CW: At a glance, can you make any sense of it?

Mirja: Watch out (?) (General murmurs).

CW: Mmhhh. So what's, what is this about, anybody know?

General: No. Not really.

Woman: It's on the TV or something . . .

CW: . . . yes . . .

Woman: . . . this was about millions of TV fans have waited for France to, Germany . . . Italy . . . on the receiving end . . . I really don't know what this is (General laughter).

CW: Yes . . . this is, I think this makes the point about the parochialism, er, of the popular press. Em, that you might have guessed, it's a good guess, that if you don't know what somebody . . . something is, it's something to do with television. So, em, Aspel actually is a television personality. Yeah. Er, here dressed up as Father Christmas. Right. Anyway, so that's the main, you know, the news story. What is, what is The Mirror there, Mirja?

Mirja: The main one is Liberty. Em. She's the wife (?unclear)

and . . . something like this . . .

CW: . . . yes . . .

Mirja: It's about this Liberty . . . em . . . the wife of the ex-Secretary (?unclear) of Liberty or whatever had an affair with another man . . . or . . . whatever . . .

CW: . . . why do you, now that's an interesting thing. Why do you, well you could ask the same one with this, why do you think that is on, is the front page news? Just think about that. That's a front page news story about somebody's wife having a lover.

Woman: Always very interesting.

Man: Some people . . . some people must be interested.

CW: Are you interested in it, Mirja?

Mirja: No, I'm not (General laughter).

CW: Who do you think would? . . . I'm not interested in it

Mirja: The type of people who are reading the newspaper maybe . . . I don't know.

CW: Yes. Well, I wonder if anybody's interested, I suppose, you know, em, I mean it's, it's a way of bringing sex onto the front page I suppose, yeah, yeah. Em, anybody got any other - thanks anyway Mirja for bringing those in - anybody bring in any other papers? Well, I've brought in the Daily Mail, which is . . . which is where a lot of the texts we've looked at have come from, like the Richard Kay texts that - "Robbie" - came from this paper, didn't actually come from The Sun or The Star, the Daily Mail . . . a middle, more of a middle-class readership really, em, and this has a completely different front page story you'll notice. "Cabinet split over Charles". Well, again, the, what is the topic here? I mean it's Charles, okay, but what about Charles?

Woman: Should he become king . . . when he gets divorced?

CW: Yes. Em, and here you're drawing on your background knowledge there, aren't you, because it doesn't say, because we know what's been in the news. Em. Should Charles become king. I mean, I imagine that that's what it, it's about, I don't know Em, why do you think this was chosen rather than the, the Sunday shopping news that the other papers, most of the others selected. (Short pause). Any thoughts? For this particular readership. (Short pause).

Sylvie: Maybe because, er, middle-class people are very, er, linked, er, British, em, the royal family, and they are very interesting in, er, what kind of, er, story can happen to the family.

CW: Yes.

Sylvie: They want to know in fact.

CW: Yes. It's interesting that the tabloid press don't, in this instance, don't, don't purs, pursue, they've dropped the royal story, because the royal story, I want to say just a little bit more about this, the royal story dominated, eh, the weekend, didn't it, did you notice that, if you, I hope you look at the press . . . em, what I did in fact was to get the papers over the weekend. What happened over the weekend, on Friday, Saturday, that dominated . . . ?

Man: Diana . . .

General: Diana, Princess Diana . . . Princess Diana decided to . . .

CW: Yes. Alright, sorry, Blanca, yeah . . .

Blanca: Princ, Princess Diana decided to, I don't know, to pack up the private life, she is fed up of, eh, being the centre of attention (?unclear).

CW: Do you think was, was that significant? I mean . . . was it an interesting bit of news, for you or . . .

General: No, no (General laughter).

CW: Yes, it's if you like non-news in a sense, it's saying, I'm not, what I'm not going to do . . . I'm not going to . . . er, carry on in public life, she said. Of course, on Sunday she was there on the front page, on Monday she was there on the front page, and so on. Em. But what I want us to look at for a little bit actually, lead, leading up to some more closer analysis, is the different way in these papers I've got here that Diana and the other people involved are presented. I've got, I, er looked at three papers on Saturday. Em. We've got . . . Today, is one we haven't looked at, and there we've got . . . the main headline is, "Into exile". (General laughter). Now, again, we've got, we always have to, we've got her words, a quote, picture, "Into exile". What does that suggest to you, the, the connotation . . . we've looked at, looked at that word, *connotation* of a word like exile?

Man: She has been thrown (?) away, really.

Woman: Yes, someone is forcing her to . . . (?unclear). (Various

murmurs).

CW: Yes, she is, right, there's an agency there, isn't there, that, that, that, we don't know what is forcing her, do we, we don't even have . . . it's, it's what we call *elliptical*. I don't know if we've used that word where, very common in newspapers, the lang, language isn't explicit, so it doesn't say she has been forced into exile or "x" has forced her into exile, but it has this very strong impact of the helpless victim . . . would you say, yes? Let's, em, let's have, look at the good old Daily Mail again, um, and of course we can relate the two headlines. (General murmurs). "Charles drove her to it". It doesn't say to "what" exactly, but "*it*", "*it*" is interesting too, because "*it*", again the topic is assumed if we want to think of topic, isn't it, so "*it*" . . . is what?

Man: Exile. (General laughter. Various murmurs, "exile").

CW: Is it? Well not, not quite, I don't think so, because, having just looked at that you could think yes, drove, drove her into exile, but I think "*it*", if you look at the grammar of the sentence, it's actually, drove her to do something. Which was to . . .

General: . . . to resign . . .

CW: . . . to resign, yeah, yeah, then that leads to exile, okay. So, what, what impression does, how does this locate Diana as the subject, if you like, em, because what people have been discussing, if we take Diana, you know, is she doing all those things voluntarily, is she an active agent, or is she a helpless victim! Right. And it's . . . what do you think?

Man: She's a victim.

CW: She's a victim.

General: Yes, yes.

Woman: The (?unclear) on Charles, on someone else but not on her.

CW: That's what this headline suggests, doesn't it, definitely, the language is positioning her as a victim.

Domingo: She is the goody.

CW: She's the goody (man's laughter), she's the goody, yeah. And you can follow . . . you, it would be quite interesting to do a study of the popular press as to how they have constructed, er, the

characters, a bit, well, like a soap opera, it is a soap opera . . . constructed the characters as goodies and baddies. Yeah. Em. And let's find the, er The Guardian, er, as you might predict, doesn't make it the news story, which it gives to Ireland, but it does nonetheless have a very, have the same picture, very big picture on the front page, um, and it says, "Media cited as Princess bows out". Em. What does this suggest about the role of Diana herself, as, as an, as an active agent if you see what I mean. (Pause). "Cited", do you know what that means . . . quoted. Media quoted as Princess bows out. (General murmurs). Do you know what it means to bow out? No. This is often the problem with newspaper language Bows out. Well, think of what it means . . . to bow . . . out . . . it can, it's a sort of metaphor really from the stage, from the theatre. You know, you bow, you take your final curtain, you bow out . . .

General: Ah, yes . . .

CW: . . . So is she going, the question is, was she pushed . . . (laughs) . . . was she pushed, or did she go? Voluntarily. What does this suggest?

Woman: Also it reminds me, em, of em, em, on TV where, em, er, we have seen, er, the marriage of Diana and she had bown in front of the Queen Mother, so she bows out now which means that the marriage is finished. (General responses, "yes, yes").

CW: That's a rather nice way of putting it perhaps. That she had to bow, yes, the, the royalty, she had to bow or curtsey and now she's actually bowing, that gesture, out, making her final entrance, or her final exit. It seems to me just from the headline that it leaves it open as to whether she's gone voluntarily or not, doesn't it. So what we can see, quite quickly really, just by looking at newspaper headlines, is how the, the subjects, what the text is about, may be located in events. Did they cause them or were they the victim of them, er, involved in them in some way, and, em, right. What I wanted us to do . . . did you bring the Mandela text? I hope you've got that one. (General rustling of papers). Em. Because, I'd like to move on now, I'd like to look at this text, these sets of texts, because they are quite interesting. (General rustling of papers). Before we do that I'm going to remind you of . . . have you got, I've got a few spares actually . . .

you've got four, these, these are old texts but, but . . . represent a very momentous event I think for many of us round the world. Have you got a . . . Domingo?

Domingo: I think I have got it somewhere . . .

CW: Got it somewhere. I've got a few spares. (General rustling of papers).

Man: No, I'm sorry, I haven't got any.

CW: Before you look at, before you look at that I'm going to ask you to do a task around these texts. Could I just remind you quickly. You remember, at the very beginning of the course, I gave you, I gave you these texts, we didn't have a chance to look at them closely, but we did look at the headlines, do you remember, and we saw how the same event can be, and now we are moving onto more political events, significant events than Princess Diana, can be represented through the language in different ways. So we have here, "Violence erupts at race march", do you remember that one? You, you've got these somewhere. Where an intransitive verb is used. The, it's quite important to look at *transitive* and *intransitive*. Because it doesn't say who caused the violence. Does it? Violence erupts. Like a volcano really. It happened. If you compare it with this one, remember, "Race march thugs battle with police", who is seen there as the agents or the subjects? (General murmur, "the thugs"). The thugs. I think, aren't they. Battle with police. And the police are seen as the (?unclear). And then if we look at, em, this one even more, right, it makes the contrast very striking doesn't it. "Mob stone police", okay, very crudely. So, remembering those texts which . . . we may come back to, I don't think we'll have time to look at them today . . . em, what I'd like you to do is to take this text (switches on projector), we're going to be looking mainly at this one, it's not very well focused . . . that's better isn't it, we'll look at this one, but I'd also like to suggest you look at the other texts over the page as well, to compare them. Before we do that, let's just ask our pre-reading questions. You know, that we have talked about. Which are easy to answer, I think, in this case. What is the topic? Alright, easy, we can say . . . the topic . . . Xavier?

Xavier: Well, er, the release of Nelson Mandela.

CW: Yeah, the release of Nelson Mandela. Why was this written? Why was it headline news in the British press. Rather than, you know, some other news? (Pause). Sylvie?

Sylvie: Because, er, Great Britain has strong links with, er, South Africa?

CW: Yes. But then if I ask you another question, was it, you can, thinking back, I know it's a long time ago now, was it headline news in Spain?

General: Yes, yes.

Woman: It was world news.

CW: This is one of these events, this is why I keep this text particularly, and find it interesting, which really was, I think, world news. And I've asked people . . . we haven't got Yang-Yang here but I imagine she would say, in China, it was headline news. Probably. I have talked to other students . . . Germany?

Monica: I was here at the time.

CW: You were here. Japan?

Woman: Yes.

CW: Yes, which is interesting in itself, isn't it, how often do we get a piece of news which is seen as international, that in itself is interesting. Em. But then it becomes more interesting in this instance to look at the (?unclear) reading, to move on to how the events are portrayed, how the event is characterised, and, we've already got, em, an interpretation, um, through the headline here, of this Daily Mail text, haven't we, em, because when I asked Xavier, what is it about, he said, release, he said, Mandela's release. Ninety per cent of people would put it that way. But we have the word "homecoming". We don't have Mandela's homecoming. And we have "The Violent Homecoming". Anybody want to comment just on the headline for the moment? Coming in to this, the visual as well, and what impact that makes.

Woman: Only that the word ham, homecoming is strange, because he never leave, he never left South Africa, he was just in prison in South Africa, he wasn't an exile.

CW: Yes. That is interesting, isn't it. I mean, I wonder why? Yes, it also, almost suggests as though he has been an exile, I hadn't

thought of that. Anybody else want to comment on, on this way of expressing the situation. (Pause). Domingo.

Domingo: If you, if you go out of jail, that means you come back home, right, because you can be in your country, but you can be in jail (?unclear) . . .

Woman: (?Unclear)

CW: Homecoming. Why do you think that?

Sylvain: I don't know, because, em, in the text, we've got a strong opposition between, em, the whites and the blacks. So . . .

CW: You, you've gone, you've gone ahead of me, Sylvain, you've already observed one of the things I want you to look at. You're right, there is . . . if you then go on to read this, and read this opposition that Sylvain talks about between the blacks and the whites, maybe this does take on another colouring, I was going to say, but what is also interesting is the juxtaposition too. Because "homecoming", is it, is it a positive or negative, or neutral?

General: Positive.

CW: Very positive, isn't it. Homecoming . . . it's full of, you know, very positive ideas. Very different from "release" . . . coming home, right. But then "violent" . . . so we've got a contrast in images there already. What I'm going to ask you to do . . . and I know, you can do this fairly quickly, because I know some of you have looked at the text at home. But, I think it's worth spending just a little bit of time on this, I'd like to ask you to look at the opening three paragraphs of these four texts, and do three things. Firstly, I'm just asking for the opening three paragraphs, that's the first thing. Consider how Mandela is talked about. How is Mandela represented? (Pause). The way, you know, em, the nouns used to talk about him, and so on. The verbs that are associated with him. So what we're doing, we're looking at the *ideational* language, if you like, putting it simply, the nouns and the verbs. Mandela is the major participant, that's pretty clear, em. How is he talked about, what verbs are used to collocate, if you remember our, er, framework that we, I hope you're always keeping in mind, this framework, this term "*collocate*", em, with Mandela. And the third question, now that's pretty simple, but the third question is what other groups or what other participants are

mentioned in those first three paragraphs? I did this, I, I hadn't thought of this myself before but every time I look at this text, these texts, I look at them in a different way, and this time I thought well it's interesting to just look at what, what else, what other participants are mentioned in the first three paragraphs of those four texts. Now, I've said the first three paragraphs because it's been noted that when we read a newspaper, we often only just read the first few paragraphs. That's how we read. You know, we get the idea, we get the gist. So, do that, er, look at them on your own, and then turn to your neighbour and see if you notice the same things or if there is some disagreement. All right. So, you've got those three questions. How is Mandela represented, particularly the verbs that collocate with him, and the other participants that are represented. So if you'd like to spend a few minutes. I'll switch that off for a moment.

Domingo: Was, was this the first report about his release or there was something else before this, er, article, because . . .

CW: . . . no, I . . .

Domingo: . . . it makes a big difference . . .

CW: . . . it does . . .

Domingo: Maybe before they, they said, "Mandela has been released", the next day they say "The Violent Homecoming". Makes a big difference.

CW: Yes. You're, you're right. (Woman comments/unclear). No. They, I'm pretty sure about this. These were all news articles on the same day . . .

Domingo: . . . on the same day . . .

CW: But that's a very important point . . . that Domingo has raised, er, because it was an event that was moving on quickly. And it wouldn't really be legitimate to compare news reports from different days. But these were all news reports . . .

Domingo: . . . so this was the first news . . .

CW: . . . yes . . .

Domingo: . . . that you got in here about his release.

CW: Yes that's right.

Domingo: The first, eh . . .

CW: Yes, yes. And, er, I mean I think it actually says, I hope it does, that it was Janua, February the 12th, I think . . . well, we haven't got February the 12th but . . .

Monica: . . . yes, down here . . .

Woman: . . . yes . . . 12th . . .

CW: . . . yeah, we have got it, it's, it's rubbed off on some, yes. They were all on the same day, and that's quite important. So this was the first reporting of the news. When I collect, I, as I obsessively collect newspapers. Okay. So I'll just leave you to do that.

(Tape turned off/people work on task).

CW: (Switching on the tape recorder. General laughter). I feel a little bit like a, a showman, or a showwoman with this. Okay. Sshhh. Quiet then. I heard some very interesting comments as I was going round, em, and let's just . . . there, remember there were three questions, we can make them two in a sense. Mandela, and how he's talked about, particularly in the verbs that are used, and what that suggests, what impression that gives, and then the other question was what other participants are brought into the picture, are brought into the scenario in those first few paragraphs. Can we start then with this, this end . . . Sylvain, do you want to say something?

Sylvain: Em. In most, em, articles, especially this, em, Mandela was referred to as, eh, the leader, because, eh, he is the one who talks, em, em, as if he was, em, the brain and then, eh, there are the followers, eh, the arm, and, em, the only difference, eh, was in the first paragraph, where, eh, we noticed that he, he wasn't the, the subject of the sentence . . .

CW: . . . this one here? . . . yeah . . .

Sylvain: . . . as if he was taken over by, eh, the, the events, as if he didn't control the, the flow of violence.

CW: Well, yes . . .

Blanca: I don't think so.

CW: You don't agree.

Blanca: No.

CW: You want to say something more about that?

Blanca: Yes, I think, yes, he is, eh, as, I mean, they talk of him . . . (laughs). . . as a leader, but, eh, he is the leader of a criminal gang . . . is like, eh, he is the baddie, no, and the black people are the baddie, I don't know So he is going out of the prison and he more or less implies that, eh, he knows what is going to happen, when, eh, he is released, but, he doesn't care or something like that.

CW: Thank you, that's interesting, you were taking slightly, well different views there, but you, that . . . em . . .

Sylvain: . . . especially the first one . . .

CW: . . . yes, that in a sense, that, is he the sort of victim of events or is he . . . I think both are true . . .

General: . . . yes, yes . . .

CW: . . . in a, in a funny sort of way, eh, oddly that . . . be, because texts can mean two things at the same time, let's remember that there isn't . . . you know, this is where language is so complex. Um, so I know what Sylvain was saying, if I can come in, where it says, for instance, it talks about, em, the release of Nelson Mandela, whereas what do the other texts say, did you notice? How do they describe . . . yes.

Virginia: Eh, in the rest of the texts, he is the subject, he walks to, to freedom, or walks out of prison, or, em, he is the subject, and there is one interesting point that, em, Sylvie noticed, em, in the first, er, text, the rest of the participants are accompanied by the possessive, "his followers", "his African National Congress organisation", "his release", so it's somehow blaming all the violence on, on Mandela. All the, all the violent, em, participants . . .

CW: . . . yes . . .

Virginia: . . . are related to Mandela. Explicitly.

CW: This is why I think both what Sylvain was saying is true and what . . . (laughs) . . . you know both those impressions were made . . . because it's true. "His followers", all the way through, the, the violence is associated with Mandela, but at the same time he's not, he's, he's made powerless, er, by, because the subject of the, the opening subject is "violence and death disfigured the release of Nelson Mandela". Em. Good. Did anybody want to comment on, still

any more on the way Mandela is the subject of, of these opening, eh, paragraphs. We haven't had Domingo and Xavier here. Xavier . . . (Domingo and Xavier murmur). You're not usually shy. Do you want to add anything . . .

Domingo: No, no. (Jokes/general laughter).

CW: They've got the giggles.

Domingo: Okay. Eh. About which one, this one. Or this one, or which one?

CW: Well, let's take these, any of them, these three . . .

Domingo: . . . any of these . . .

CW: . . . because they're different aren't they.

(Tape: end of side A).

Domingo: Okay, it's quite interesting, the beginning, "Nelson Mandela walked to freedom yesterday . . . straight into the fury of South Africa's shotgun wielding police." Er, the police here are the baddies I think, and Nelson, Nelson Mandela is the, the goodie in a way. You see, "police opened fire on a section of the welcoming crowd in Cape Town", so it's, er, giving the, er, active role to the police instead of to the, er, to the black crowds. And, er, then after this, in this one, this is a very good one, this is a very good report about what, what's going on, it gives relevance to the, er, fact that he has been (laughs several times) . . .

CW: . . . I think Domingo means this little one here . . .

Domingo: . . . yes, this small one here. I think this is quite a good one because it gives emphasis first to the release of Mr Mandela and it, it says "Mr Mandela" which is a good treatment I think. And now this last one is unbelievable. It says, "Whites-Out", it's quite violent, shocking, and it says "Black fury erupted in South Africa yesterday as freed leader Nelson Mandela vowed . . ." etc, etc. And "black gang clashes" and all that, this is quite violent, shocking, and, and that's it.

CW: Okay, thanks very much. Em. You've moved on really to talk about the other participants which are brought in, em, what . . . does anybody want to say anything more about that third question, the

other participants, because, as, er, Domingo noticed, in, in this text, which I can tell you now, if you didn't guess . . . well is it from a right-wing or a left-wing paper do you think. This one here.

General: Left.

CW: Left. It's the Daily Mirror. It's a popular left, leftist, leftish paper, and we have the police coming into the picture very early on. We've, in fact we've only got I think . . . we've got Nelson, Nelson Mandela, the crowd, er, millions throughout the country, and the police. Those are the three groups that are identified. Would you agree.

General: Uhu.

CW: Does anybody want to look at how the groups, the participants, are grouped together in the other texts. We've already said a little bit about this but, um, anybody want to say something more about, for example, "Whites-Out", that one there. This one.

Sylvie: Er, the, em, the headline shocked me because, "Whites-Out", for me it's a reference to something against, against blacks in fact, because it could say "Blacks-Out", and it will, it would have been a racist headline, and it's very shocking because I think that this article is racist, really, because of the title, because, em, er, "whites, yes, whites shot dead as Nelson says: Keep up struggle", (a woman murmurs), and, em, "whites were terrorised, er, as young blacks, er, celebrated Nelson's, Mandela release", all the, em, all the faults are put on black people. I think . . . you can, you can say that, er, you can say that it's racist.

CW: Do, do people agree with Sylvie on this point . . .

General: . . . yes . . .

CW: . . . about that fourth text particularly, from The Sun - no surprise - em, that the participants are polarised in terms of blacks versus whites . . .

General: . . . uhu . . .

CW: . . . and in fact those of you who, well, you've looked at this text most of you . . . what did you notice about . . . let's take the blacks and whites as two sets of participants. Quite interesting to look, blacks versus whites, police versus crowd, you know, to look at groups in opposition. What did you notice about The Guardian text. About the

blacks versus whites.

Domingo: This is from The Guardian?

CW: This is from The Guardian, yes.

Woman: It's neutral.

CW: It gives the impression of neutrality but there is a reason, a very clear reason why that, that is in terms of the participants in the text, who's talked about simply. (Pause). Have another look at that in terms of the blacks versus whites, it's quite interesting I think. (Long pause; people examine text).

CW: Anybody want to comment? It's pretty . . .

Sylvie: The crowd, the crowd is called supporters, which is positive.

CW: Yes, very good. The crowd are supporters, which is positive of course, not mobs, very clearly, but what do you notice about the blacks and whites also.

Woman: There is no opposition.

CW: Christine?

Christine: Yeah. Hold on a sec.

CW: Yeah, hold on a sec, alright, I won't rush you. (Pause). Maybe it's . . .

Christine: . . . He's more, in a way he's more, em, I would say, compared to the others one, there's more objective, he just says, actually, what's happening, and he's not, like, em, telling you that, like, like the last one, that as soon as you just have a look at it, you know that, which sides it is . . .

CW: . . . yes . . .

Christine: . . . the other ones it's more, mmm, more, more relaxed in a way.

Woman: Yes.

Monica: I think it talks about apartheid and the others don't, I mean I'm not too sure.

CW: Well, what I was thinking of, I mean I don't want you, I don't want you to sort of guess what's in my head, is, it's simpler than that really. The fact is, I think you'll find in The Guardian text that blacks and whites are not mentioned, at all. (General reaction). Maybe that was too obvious for you, but it's quite important that the

crowd are not identified as black. You know, so it's that difference in itself that I think is quite interesting. Em. So, what you get then is the, the opening, already in the opening you've got, in the first one, you've got, em, you could argue, the goodies and the bad . . . well, Mandela and his followers. Versus who? Who are the goodies in, in this one . . . would you say . . . this one, yeah. Are there any goodies?

Domingo: Yeah, the government.

CW: . . . hmmm . . .

Domingo: . . . the government . . .

CW: Who is identified with the government would you say?

Domingo: . . . the, er . . .

CW: . . . oh (disturbance on tape) . . .

Woman: . . . the police . . .

Domingo: . . . the police, and em . . .

Woman: . . . the police are the em . . .

CW: Well, the police really, I think if you look through that you'd find the police, the authorities perhaps on the one hand . . .

Woman: . . . yeah . . .

CW: . . . and, as you notice quite rightly, you've got Nelson Mandela "mobs of his followers", "ran wild and looted shops", very negative connotation, and, very strongly active verbs. And so, you know, collocating with, eh, "Mandela and his followers". Very similar to "masked mobs stone police", these, not just verbs of material processes, if you look at your framework, but very strong action, violent action indeed. Let's take a break, because it's quarter past four now, um, and we'll, we

3. Lesson Fourteen: Childminder

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Students: Virginia, Yukako, Yang Yang,
Monica, Xavier, Valle

CW: So you just switched this off did you? You didn't wind it back?

Yukako: No, I didn't.

CW: No, you just switched it off. Fine, that's fine, so we'll just continue straight on, not to waste any time. Right, yeah, it's very quiet in here, isn't it. No classes. All the classes have stopped have they, the semester classes, we should probably have stopped earlier, that's the problem. Is Domingo coming?

Virginia: I've no idea.

CW: You haven't seen him.

Virginia: I haven't seen him today.

CW: Oh thanks - and I've got some to give back as well. Just want to fix this. Okay, hang on. Right. Em. Let me just get organised here a bit, I hope. Right, em, I've got, while we're perhaps waiting for, probably only Xavier and Domingo I think, who else, no, maybe, oh Yang Yang's here, I don't know if anyone else will come, we're getting smaller and smaller as time goes on. I was saying I saw Mirja, and she said that because their times had changed it was very difficult for Blanca and her to come to this class now, which is a pity, still that's the way, that's what happens unfortunately. Yukako, I found, em, a diary of yours, em, from over Christmas. This is going back, I realise I never gave it back to you, and so I'm sorry about that . . .

Yukako: No, that's okay . . .

CW: Em, but anyway, thank you very much.

Yukako: You're welcome.

CW: I mean, I have to say I find the comments very interesting that you make, em, even if maybe it seems, er, sometimes a bit boring for you to have to do it, I don't know. This is another one of Yukako's. Em. Yes. Can, can I just say a little bit about . . . you made an interesting point here I thought. Em. Yukako is saying that, if I understand, I wasn't quite clear, but when you read Japanese

magazines . . .

Yukako: Oh, yes, yes, yes . . .

CW: . . . would you like to say a bit more about that . . . what the difference is, what you . . .

Yukako: Er. What, about that thing . . . ?

CW: It's about using "I", the use of "I".

Yukako: Yes, yes. In, in, in Japanese language we quite often admit the subject, for example . . .

CW: Omit, omit the subject.

Yukako: Yeah.

CW: Yeah.

Yukako: I, or you, or he, or, quite often. Don't put that. Don't, because if it's, er, clear, but even if it's not clear, quite many people just take it, em, how do you say . . .

CW: Omit it, leave it out . . .

Yukako: Yeah, yeah. Uhu. And, er, it was so confusing, reading the one particular article, because I didn't understand the quotation. Who is talking, who, who said this. And then, eh . . .

Virginia: In Japanese . . .

Yukako: In Japanese.

CW: Japanese. Even tho' it's your first language.

Yukako: Yeah.

CW: And, but then you suggested that maybe there's a, there's a reason for this perhaps.

Yukako: Er, what did I say?

CW: Well (general laughter) . . . what you did, you ask me, you say, "what do you think" . . .

Yukako: Yeah . . .

CW: . . . but I don't know, because I don't know enough about Japanese. You see it seemed to me as if writers or even publishers are saying that they don't take any responsibility.

Yukako: Ah yes, yes.

CW: For what they say.

Yukako: Uhu, yes, um, well because they, they can say anything, which is quite offensive to some people, they just put it there and they don't put who said this, or who write this article, they don't say

that in the magazines at all. So I find because, when I'm following this course, and therefore they should do this, that's what I thought.

CW: Well, I think that's, that's an interesting observation. You'd have to, you'd have to, I mean I don't know Japanese unfortunately, because what you have to think of all the time is, is it in the language itself, is it basic to the language, um, or is it exceptional, right, all the time, or are there simply choices. I mean what we've been looking at a lot is just options or choices. Right, right. But anyway, I thought that was a very interesting point that you made. Thank you very much . . .

Yukako: . . . thank you.

CW: . . . for that one. And then I've got, em, I'm just trying to find the diaries here. Everything's muddled up a bit. Em. Because I've got something from Virginia . . . where's that? (Scuffling through papers). Oh, they're all muddled up here, sorry about this. Let's switch this off for a minute Er, I thought we'd first of all, em, sum up a little bit about the idea of context and text, er, and this time look at, em . . . with reference to three texts that I think you've all got, em, all around . . . the golliwog one, okay, we're going to talk about golliwogs today. Em. And this, this is the one . . . let me get it off this thing . . . oh it's stuck . . . this was the one that Monica brought in if you remember, or Monica will remember anyway . . . I have to get it focused. Right. Em. And have you got that one? (General affirmation). You've all got that one with you. I've got one or two copies but not too many, em, and we're going to talk about this text. And also, related to that was the, er, they all relate in different ways, they are all around, well one of the links is, em . . . well, what's the obvious link between them? This is a more recent one. There were articles in the press. This was . . . when did this appear, Monica, because you brought it . . . it was before Christmas wasn't it.

Monica: Yeah. I've put it somewhere . . .

CW: Because I should have put the date on actually, yeah.

Monica: I mean the second one was before Christmas, because I found it on the plane.

CW: Oh, that's right. This was about October, November, wasn't it.

Monica: Yeah.

CW: Yes.

Monica: Probably, yeah.

CW: When the issue first arose in the press.

Monica: This is Christmas, yes.

CW: And then this one is around Christmas.

Monica: Yeah.

CW: Noddy and Golly, we'll have to, oh, we can't see this because of the sun . . . "Noddy and Golly are cleared as council backs off". And then I, eh, thought you might, might be interested in . . . this! Is that the right way around? Yes. Which is an, an extract from the famous Noddy. And so I don't know, I don't know if you can make . . . we've talked about how you relate texts, you know, how texts relate, em . . . Yukako was talking in her diary about cultural knowledge, er, and we're going to say a little more about this. Somewhere in here I think I've got, em . . . I'm going to read a bit of Noddy to you in a minute. Em. But let's, er, think of, em, for the moment, if we can go back to . . . we're going to look a little bit at these three texts. But let's look at this one we looked at last week, for a minute, to compare . . . what is a general difference do you think between this one that we did quite a lot on, eh, last week . . . talked about it, the kind of text it is . . . and, say, this one, and this one that we're going to do a bit more work on later on. Is there any difference, I mean . . .

Virginia: I think so.

CW: Would you say more.

Virginia: The, the one about smoking is more focused on opinion, this one is focused on the, the narration of the facts, although you can also find the opinion, but, it's the, er, interview and, the, when the news is on, just in the very moment of . . .

CW: Sure. Yeah. I think . . . it's topical . . .

Virginia: . . . yes . . .

CW: . . . perhaps you mean. Topical is a word we In other words, it's, em, we would call it a report I suppose, um, if we want to think of a, of a genre. But then, one of the things we've been talking about, what is a report? You know, is it fact or opinion? Clearly, this one is opinion, isn't it. And indeed, it's, em, er, Domingo gave us a nice term, it's, we call this a, as a genre, as a kind of text, we call it,

em . . .

Virginia: . . . a column . . .

CW: . . . a column, yeah, a column. It's, eh, and a column is characterised by . . . what? Why do we call it a column?

Virginia: It always appears in the same place in the newspaper every day. By the same author, or . . .

CW: Exactly. So Bernard Levin. It's his column. So that's quite different, isn't it, from, if we think of the idea of, em . . .

(End of tape 1, side A)

(Tape 1, side B)

CW: . . . probably not. And equally, er, Stewart Pine, right (?unclear), but, on the other hand, they're different from the editorials, you remember, because the editorials were . . . well, they didn't have any authors at all, did they, in terms of authorship. So, but before we, em, go any further, let's think about the, about context for a minute, if I can find the right transparencies. Just to remind us of what we were talking about last week. And I've redone this diagram like this, um, we began the course if you can remember, I don't know if it was clear, by looking at the context of a situation, you know. And then we've moved into looking at the text here. There's, as we, as this is the last week, let's think again about all the kinds of things that we need to know about the context in order to understand the text. Indeed it works both ways. If I can find my pen here . . . because, what happens is that you use the context to understand the text, see what I mean, but as you read the text, that helps you again, sorry my lines are not very good, in understanding more about the context. So it goes both ways, see what I mean . . . (laughs) I don't . . . um, so there's an inter-relationship all the time between the actual text and the context. So, let's just remind ourselves, we did this last week, just to sum up, what kinds of things do we need to know about the context to understand the text. What do we . . . what comes round here as contextual knowledge. Remember we talked about it . . . Yang Yang, you mentioned one thing last week . . . hmmm?

Yang Yang: Eh, knowledge, general knowledge.

CW: Yes, yes, we had, er, general knowledge . . . and then we had -

what, what do we mean by general knowledge, well we'll come on to this in a minute - then we had . . .

Students: Various responses.

CW: Yes, yes. Culture-specific knowledge. It doesn't matter where we put this, em, so, for example as I say, you need the culture-specific knowledge to understand the text, but as you understand the text, it helps you You build up culture-specific knowledge. What else?

Valle: Knowledge, knowledge of recent, er, events.

CW: Knowledge of? . . . Recent events. Yes. We can call that (unclear/loud coughing) . . . recent events. What has been going on, em, yeah, I'm not sure we talked about that last week but that's an important one. Em. Anything else. Or a term that we've been using all the time in the course . . . well I've been using anyway.

Valle (and various): Genre.

CW: Yes, genre. Genre. (Murmurs of affirmation). A French word . . . it just means the type of text it is, you know, and we report editorial, em . . . another one I think we had last week was . . .

Xavier: The writer . . .

CW: Yes, the writer/reader . . . relationship. (Pause). These all inter-relate of course, em, so that for instance, em . . . particularly genre and the writer/reader relationship . . . um, what kind of relationship does a writer of, of say an editorial or a report have with the reader. It will change, you see what I mean, okay. Um. For instance, Bernard Levin will probably know his, his readership, he will have a loyal readership, the kind of people who always read him. I mean, he won't know them personally perhaps but he'll know the sort of people they are, what they think, what they like . . . that's why they read him. Now, let's then look . . . what I'd like you to do is think of . . . do we need to add anything else . . . what do we have . . . I think that will do actually. We've got general knowledge . . . of the world . . . now that's even difficult itself to think of Culture-specific knowledge. The difference between those two can be interesting. Knowledge of the genre, the type of text, the writer/reader relationship, and the recent . . . what has been going on recently, the immediate context in a sense, em, the immediate source, em Now, what I'd like you to do

in thinking of this, thinking of this contextual knowledge, look at this text again . . . and think about what kinds of, em, cultural knowledge, immediate knowledge, general knowledge, genre knowledge, do you see what I mean, that you, you think you need to know to understand this text. Or put it a different way, what, perhaps, created difficulty for you when you were looking at this because you didn't have cultural knowledge, you see what I mean? So you might like to try and mark, eh, in some way, what kinds of contextual factors helped you or frustrated you. Would you like to think about that for a minute and then we'll, em, we'll see, we'll talk a little bit further about it. (Shuffling of papers/long silence). And again, when you've, when you've thought about it individually, you might like to just . . . as we're so small today, we can have a group of three and a group of three here perhaps, you know, but do it individually first and then see if you agree on the sorts of things that you've noticed.

(Tape switched off/on)

(People work in groups)

[CW is addressing one group, as another group conducts its discussion.]

Valle: What kind of a inspector is this one?

Virginia: Sorry?

Valle: What kind of inspector?

Virginia: It's like . . . I guess it's like, em, a woman who takes care of children and gets money for it.

Valle: No, but I mean inspector.

Virginia: The inspector has to give her woman a lisent, a licence.

Valle: Which is what.

Yang Yang: A registration.

Valle: Yes . . . what a certificate.

Virginia: You know, for her to be, em, allowed to take care of the children and teach . . .

Valle: To be a childminder.

Virginia: Yes, a childminder. From . . .

I think it's like pre-schola(?), before going to school. In Spain, we don't have the same . . .

Yang Yang: . . . just, like the baby, is it . . .

Virginia: ... really ...

Yang Yang: ... yes ...

Valle: Is there a difference between childminder and babysitter ...

Yang Yang: Uhu.

Virginia: Do you have childminders?

Yang Yang: We have, farm girls, from countryside, from the countryside, and but really, take care of one child ...

Virginia: ... one child ...

Yang Yang: ... and lives with someone's family, and that's like, ah, this, ah, childmine, childmind. ...

Virginia: ... minder ...

Yang Yang: ... er, who can just look after three babies or three children.

Virginia: We don't have those things in Spain ...

Valle: What's the difference between childminder and babysitter?

Yang Yang: I think that's, eh, it's almost the same I understand.

Virginia: No.

Valle: I don't know because we don't have childminder.

Yang Yang: The difference is not so ... in China, babysitter lives with the fam, family, and paid by the family without any certificate, registrations.

(Pause)

CW: And I think the thing then to consider once you've talked about the background knowledge is then to see how when you look at the text more closely, you can work out the cultural ... you see what I ... the cultural phenomenon if you like. There are some clues in the text itself as to whether childminder is, lives with the family, for instance, or how many children she looks after.

Virginia: Yes, there's a clue. But, there is not, for me, it's difficult to find out if the golligo, wo, golligow ...

Woman: ... racist ...

Virginia: Are they racist, eh, dolls or not ...

Woman: ... what ...

Virginia: I don't know, I don't know, from the text I cannot get it. I

think that they, they say that it's a racist, em, doll, but I cannot see any racism in playing with, er, black doll or white . . . I cannot see . . . it's good if you can play with it, it means that you're accepting, ah . . . but after reading the text, this one . . .

CW: . . . yes . . .

Virginia: . . . the Noddy story is then, what I guess is that this is a wollygo, a gollywog, is it . . .

CW: . . . yes (laughs) that's right, a wollywog, a gollywog . . .

Virginia: . . . (laughs) . . . golly, gollywog . . . then this is racist.

CW: You think so?

Virginia: I think so.

CW: Yes, that's, that's okay, we'll come to that in a minute.

Virginia: I think this story is racist, the way they say how, em, the white child is happy of, er, doing harm to the black one, I don't know.

CW: You think that . . . could . . . yeah . . .

Virginia: I wouldn't like if it was a, a white, em, child, either, do you underst . . . it's, it's the attitude of the white child, what, I don't like and besides the, the, the weak person here is the black child, so that makes it racist, I don't know.

Valle: Yeah but here, it, in this case with Noddy, but in this one I don't understand about golliwogs in general . . . racist, offensive, I don't know why . . .

Virginia: I don't know why . . .

Yang Yang: This one's a report so, which is easier to understand, if you know, em, the relationship between (?unclear), child care and children, toys . . . if you have these general ideas, general knowledge you know . . . children, er, like toys, and, em, childminders . . . you can guess the meaning, it means child carers, use toys . . .

CW: You can guess the meaning of childminder.

Yang Yang: Yes, yeah.

CW: That concept. You can get it from the text.

Yang Yang: Also, often, you can easily find out, eh, eh, the inspector refused to give her a registration certificate because after she refused to get rid of those toys. But the question. Why these toys are regarded as racist toy, you, you look at picture, whether they are . . .

what kind of problem, racial problem the toys can, er, cause . . .

Virginia: Well, it strikes me about the text, is what, eh, this, eh, woman says, Deena Newton, she says, they might think the, em, he is racist, wolly, the golliwog, but I'm not throwing out the books. She doesn't say, I don't think it's racist . . .

Woman: . . . no . . .

Virginia: . . . she thinks, she says, I'm keeping the books anyway. It's, eh, it's strange . . .

Yang Yang: . . . of course it is. In society, people support it, or her, you see, oh, you found this (?unclear) which inspector say is racist, offensive and has no place in society. Parents and other childminders wrote to her and support her . . .

CW: Well . . . this is, this is what we'll do when we come to look at it closely, at the language of the text really. Yes, I mean this, because what we've been talking about all the time is, there are different ways of presenting the story, now what we'll go on to look at is how this story, these events, are presented. What we know, we have the facts, we have the people in the drama, we have the facts, and how they're put together . . .

Yang Yang: Yes. I think common knowledge, eh, has something to do in this, eh, report, otherwise if you don't know the relationship between carer, and children, toys, you cannot understand . . .

CW: That's an interesting one, yes. So it isn't just culture-specific knowledge that we've been talking about here . . .

Yang Yang: General. You need also knowledge, eh, and can bring different people, together, in reading, in readership. Another point is that for, for outsider, we feel, confused about social organisation. Green - wich council, inspector, this and that . . .

Virginia: . . . the Working Group Against Racism in Children's Resources . . . that's quite (laughs) . . .

Yang Yang: . . . social organisation very daunting.

CW: Yes. Do you find . . . looking at Spain, you don't have an organisation like that?

Virginia: No. It would be against racism in general, but never so specific, no, it's like a specific group working for a specific, very specific thing. It's like, if you are against racism, then it's in general,

not just in children's resources. I don't know . . . to me it sounds strange.

Valle: Right.

Yang Yang: Really, what does a golliwog mean. Can, can we find the golliwog.

Women: (Various responses) Yes, yes. And this one. The rest of the toys.

CW: It's because the picture's very unclear. You see a better picture here, you see.

Woman: (Various responses) Oh . . .

Woman: I think that it's too much . . . eh, for a toy.

Virginia: I myself had a black doll when I was a child and I played with it, and I loved it, and I, I don't think that's racist, do you think that's racist?

CW: Well this is what we're going to discuss. Let's, let's . . .

Virginia: Because I don't know what the news is here.

Yang Yang: Well, some people will be offended . . . by these, er, images, but not children will be offended because they, they, they don't understand too much, alright, but parents, perhaps some of the parents will be offended by these images.

CW: I'm just going to move this . . .

(Tape recorder is moved to
other group)

Monica: Eighteen years, gives her the right to know what's going on, you know.

Yukako: That's right yes.

Monica: I mean she has been there for eighteen years so they, it's definitely them who have gone mad. (Laughter).

(Other discussion in background)

Xavier: So.

Monica: Somehow, in this sentence here, golliwogs can cause offence. It doesn't really spell out against who . . . "Mrs Newton is a good and caring childminder, but it remains in our opinion that golliwogs can cause offence." You need to know as a reader, against who.

(Pause)

CW: Let's, em, if you feel you've had enough discussion on that, let's, let's share some of these ideas and see what kinds of knowledge, if we come back to this in fact, this diagram here, and think a little bit about . . . em, I've lost my pen now, anyone seen my pen, it's here . . . um, was it mainly, if we take general knowledge and culture-specific, which kind of knowledge was, was more problem . . . were you drawing on do you think.

Various: Culture-specific.

CW: Culture-specific, yeah. I mean you'd also be drawing on general knowledge, but that, you don't, you don't of course worry about that because you, you already know that, you take that for granted. Shared knowledge. So there's more culture-specific knowledge, and some of you made, em, I don't know if I can write on this because it's, let's just, well, let's just list it here actually, some examples, most obviously is, er . . .

Virginia: Em, the Rastafarian?

CW: Yes, Rastafarian.

Woman: Em . . .

CW: Well, golliwog itself, yeah.

Monica: Noddy stories.

CW: Noddy stories, yeah.

Virginia: The childminder as someone who has to be controlled by inspectors and so on.

CW: Mmm, mmm, exactly.

Xavier: They are running after social services.

CW: Yes, well done, yes, so there are, there are sort of institutional factors, you know. What does a child, what does a childminder mean. Obviously not just somebody who looks after children, in this instance. It's an official childminder, maybe that's a strange concept perhaps for some of you, culturally. So we've already got quite, quite a good . . . we've got a lot to know about local authorities, er, officials, who has control or charge of other people, and we've got to know, em, about, a lot about race and ethnicity, anti-racism organisations, attitudes to race, and of course they all inter-relate, em, in this, in this text. But we also need to know about, er, Noddy, Noddy stories and golliwogs. And this is why I, em, I gave you the, er, Noddy, the

bit of Noddy story, er, and, on the principle you remember of *intertextuality*, you remember, where you, you . . . this is the kind of . . . the native speaker reader if you like, the British reader would be bringing this knowledge with them, they would be bringing . . . they would have read this book.

Virginia: Are they very old? Are they old stories, or . . .

CW: . . . mmm. Mmmmm.

Xavier: From the beginning of this century I think . . .

Virginia: . . . are they 60s or . . .

CW: From the beginning of the century? Not, well, I had a look actually because I was curious . . .

Monica: . . . 50s, it looks like 50s I think, with the pictures I don't know but . . .

Xavier: 50s?

CW: Yes.

Xavier: Yes?

Woman: I don't know.

Woman: Did you know them?

Monica: No, no I didn't.

CW: They were first published in the 50s, 'cause it says here, '52, but then this was quite recent, reprinted '83 I noticed.

Virginia: Yes, very successful.

CW: And, em, the reason I'm surprised is that the recent book, the very recent books have censored the golliwog, they've got rid of the golliwog. Shall I just read a bit to you, I'll read the, I'll read, er, this opening, because you've only got an extract . . . I'll switch this off actually while I do this . . .

(Tape switched off/on)

CW: Virginia was saying, and I don't know what the rest of you think, that you thought when you read this, it was a bit racist.

Virginia: Yes, yes.

CW: When you read this little extract.

Virginia: He's got a black face, and "wash your face and clean your teeth", I don't know, it's like . . . if, if he wants to wash his face, it's because he doesn't accept his, him as black, it's something in the story that I don't like.

CW: It made you feel a bit uncomfortable you think.

Virginia: Yes.

CW: What did you think, Monica.

Monica: Yeah, I think it's racist.

CW: You do.

Monica: Mmm.

CW: Interesting. Yeah. I'm a bit surprised by that because, eh . . . you know . . . Xavier, what did you think when you read this?

Xavier: Yes, well I was also surprised, and said it is, it is a bit racist, because I saw the black, er, toy and the cheeky, the cheeky . . .

CW: Cheeky, yes, they call him the . . . er . . .

Xavier: . . . he's a scamp. And so . . .

CW: Yes, yes. But of course you could argue that those words, you know, "cheeky", "scamp", they're, they're harmless, you know, they're affectionate terms . . .

Xavier: Well, not only that, the, the pictures, the . . .

Virginia: What about "naughty"? Is that affectionate?

But, it's negative, it has negative connotations, doesn't it.

CW: It has, it has, em, but they are not, they are not very strong. Naughty is . . . is like you might say a naughty child.

Various: Mmm. Yes.

CW: You know, a naughty little boy. It's not, it's not like bad or wicked, not nearly as strong as that, and, I think you can, you can argue, you've got "naughty", "scamp", "cheeky" . . . that's true, you've got that, that vocabulary, and, em . . . anything else?

Virginia: Yes, it's the way, that Noddy, Noddy is the white child?

CW: Noddy . . . yes, Noddy.

Virginia: Noddy is behaving badly. He is doing something bad to the, to the golliwog. And the, his mother supports him, and he's pleased, and they say that he's pleased three times at least. "Noddy felt pleased", "Noddy felt pleased" all over again.

CW: (Laughs) Yes, you're right actually.

Virginia: It's, er, find, finding pleasure in doing harm to anybody that's bad.

CW: Yes, yes.

Monica: And also I think the combination of naughty, black face,

because, you don't say this is a naughty white boy . . . (various murmurs) . . . why mention the colour.

CW: Yes, yes.

Yang Yang: And black. Immediately one decides that they are the colour, and this is kind of race, racism. (Various murmurs).

CW: That's interesting because I, er, you know I can, I . . .

Yang Yang: In China if this happens, the story, er, is, you meant it for children, no, Chinese people won't think about racism because, eh, in China we, er, everyone has got the same colour, but here, because . . . in the United States . . . as when people live with, er, blacks and they will think easily about, em (?unclear).

CW: I think Monica's point is a good one myself because you wouldn't, would you say, "water dripping from his naughty white face".

Woman: That's right.

CW: That the idea . . . I hadn't really quite thought of that. And you, like you, something . . . I wasn't happy about it. The idea is that black is strange and different, isn't it, it's exotic, sometimes, I've used that term before, em, when we looked at that text about Oriental women for instance. The diff, the other, the different, what's normal is to be white, to be like us. And of course, that's, we're all like that in a sense, but eh . . . so it's interesting that when, by looking this you could begin to see the point about, you know, why the Noddy stories and the golliwog, which features in them, might cause offence to black people.

Yang Yang: And they're for small children.

Virginia: There is more . . . because I'm rereading them now, and I can read now, "your car looks beautiful, Noddy, says, said Mr, Mrs Tubby. Really, it's the best kept car in toyland" and he was pleased again, and began to polish his little car. It's like an opposition between the car, the material things that have to be kept, and, and the Noddy and, er, golliwog, which is, er, running, and crying . . . yelling.

CW: Yes, even the images. Yes, yes, so, em, yes there's something . . . actually if you wanted to take this even further you could say, Noddy is very bourgeois, isn't he . . .

Virginia: Very what?

CW: Bourgeois? That's a French word. (Various affirmations, oh yes, yes). You know, the citizen cleans his car, you know But, what Virginia said made me think of that.

Virginia: How it shone.

CW: Exactly.

Yukako: I don't like the title either . . . "Noddy, such a clever fellow" . . . (laughs).

CW: Why don't you like the title?

Yukako: Well, I don't know. Noddy - such a - clever - fellow. Why this, this things becomes the title, maybe golliwog is a clever fellow as well.

CW: You find that later on, as it happens, if you read the whole book, which you might like to, is that goddy, golly, is a bit thick too, you know, he's not very clever - (various murmurs) - as you might expect. Noddy I think, I didn't read it all I must say.

Yang Yang: Aren't these kind of a stories kind of very affective to the young, er, children . . .

Virginia: . . . yes they can influence them . . .

Yang Yang: . . . because, er, they are so simple, em, immediately they got the colour . . . I mean, printed, say, in their brain, at such a young age . . .

Virginia: . . . well they retain later, is that to keep the car shiny, is important, and also to, to be naughty, to, to these golliwogs, or black children, that's maybe, er . . .

Yang Yang: . . . when I read the story, I really didn't think about the racist, er, racism, because I think we can use all kinds of colours, er, to make, er, toys, but when, with this, er, noticed connection between, er, this, er, Noddy, and, er, golliwog, I think that really is not so right, to let small children get very clear pictures in their brain about black boy, er, black, er, small child and a white, er, faced, er, child.

CW: Of course, it's important to say that, eh, that of course, eh, golly, golly, neither of them, I mean, Noddy is a toy, I mean I suppose . . . (various murmurs).

Woman: Not a human being.

CW: Yes. It's in toy town, exactly. It's a whole, it's a different world. But on the other hand, as you say children make the links with these words, and even tho' golly is a toy, you could say, it, it's also possibly a stereotype of the way black people look, you see.

General: Mmmm.

CW: What I did was, em, just, er, to give you some more background on this, just to give you an idea of how, where do we get these, this cultural knowledge from . . . this is one source. Another thing that you can do is to go to the Dictionary of Culture, you know, I didn't bring it because it's so heavy and big. But this is, I copied this out for you. And I wondered if, I thought we could look at this and decide if this was, would be helpful to you, this is a dictionary of culture for foreigners particularly, em, to understand this concept and what it represents. I'll read it out. "An old-fashioned child's toy, doll, made of soft material, dressed like a little man, with a big, with a black face, with big white eyes, and black hair standing out round its head." You can see that in this picture I think.

General: Yes.

CW: And in the Noddy book. "Many people who are against racism find gollywogs offensive because they show an old-fashioned stereotype of black people. But many other people think that gollywogs are just toys and that their appearance is not important." What do you think about that as a definition?

Woman: Neutral.

CW: I mean, imagine your . . . because you might be doing this, you know, in your future, writing a dictionary . . . I think that's a good . . . how does that help us, you know . . .

Virginia: It helps a lot, but, mm, when they say, because they show an old-fashioned stereotype of black people, maybe, mm, I don't think there's nothing wrong with a, a black doll, the wrong thing is, eh, the way the children are supposed to play with the dolls. Because when you have a Barbie, don't you have a . . . this, Barbies?

CW: Barbie dolls, we have them . . .

Woman: Mhmm. You play in a special way with them and with another type of dolls, you are supposed to do other things, maybe

with a golliwog . . .

End of Tape 1.

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Tape 2. Side A.

CW: . . . black people . . . em, you know, the hair, the fuzzy hair, and particularly, the, the white, if you look at the picture, the big white eyes, the whites of the eyes. (Various murmurs/responses). Even the smile, the rather . . .

Yukako: Yeah, mhmhm.

Yang Yang: Whites, round.

Woman: It's a lovely doll. I like it.

CW: What? Oh, you think you'd like it. You quite like it?

Yukako: Yeah, but the dress, the way of dressing as well, it's like, it's just like, er, black (laughs) people . . .

CW: Do black people dress like that?

Yukako: Yeah, you know the striped trousers, and (laughter) . . . I thought . . .

CW: Well only in, only in the old movies don't they, and the black and white, we used to call them black and white minstrel shows . . . wearing them there . . .

Yang Yang: I think it's just like (?unclear) stories published in the 1950s, so that kind of racism was not so serious a problem, but, er, with older generation, they know the stories, then they feel, very offensive, but with those, ah, younger parents if they don't know the story where, when they buy the toys, they probably don't, er, have that, em, awareness that these toys can be quite so (?unclear) . . .

CW: . . . yes, yes. . .

Yang Yang: . . . but if you know the story because they are in a racial, racist, em, (?unclear), then . . .

Virginia: What was before, the story, Noddy story or the golliwog?

Woman: The golliwog.

CW: Golliwogs, yes, yes. I'm, I'm em, I chose that because it, because I managed to find, you know, it brings Noddy and golli together. But the history of golliwogs, that's another thing we need to consider. This is not mentioned here, em, to be honest I'm not sure, I ought to know. But there's another factor here, is that em, I think it's fair to say there are colonialist implications though, even the

sort of, even the fact that, you know, they're quite fun and smiley, you know, it's like sort of . . . it's a patronising, em, idea of, of, you know, black people or other, other ethnic groups. Em. The other thing is that the word "wog" you see, em, in itself, has become a very offensive word to describe black people. I don't know if you are aware of that, em, and, and so that's another thing, although golliwog means it's just a toy, "wog" has been taken up to mean, eh, it's a bit, it's very offensive to call . . .

Virginia: . . . what's the meaning of that . . .

CW: Well I think it comes from Western Oriental Gentlemen, or something, people say, 'though that doesn't make much sense, it's, it's interesting, it's like language, you know, generally, originally it may have been harmless, but the way it has been used, as a term of abuse, like "nigger" . . . now, very offensive to black people.

Woman: Really.

CW: Yes, if you say "nigger", you, that would be a very shocking word, yes. Em. Negro, less so. Because of the way these words, because all words have a history you see, em, and that history is changing of course, but of course that's another, another thing that's difficult for you sometimes to understand. Em. There are disagreements. There was a conservative politician on television the other day saying it didn't matter what you call people, but I think you say that to most black people . . . I mean, you know, em, if, sometimes Japanese and Chinese people are called rude, rude names, aren't they . . .

Yukako: Oh yeah, I was called, em, face to face, the, em, em, English officer called me "Jap".

CW: Really.

Yukako: Yeah. I was very offended but because I was just in front of, you know, going through immigration, so I didn't say anything . . .

CW: So how did it come up then, what did he actually say?

Yukako: Um. I don't know, he was standing behind other immigration officer, she was dealing with me, and then he just, em, he looked very bossy, and he just took all the paperwork and he said, em, something like, and then said, "oh, this Jap." and this was very

offending to me.

CW: I mean that's an interesting point, isn't it. Because we, on one hand we could say, well what's wrong with "Jap", I can imagine, "Jap", short for Japanese, but for you, you know what the connotations are, the history of . . .

Yang Yang: (?unclear) sensitivity.

CW: And "wog" would be, and "nigger" even more I think would be the same for black people. What is interesting of course is what is the, what is the insulting word for white people? What insulting words are there for white people?

Virginia: It depends on the country I think. (Laughter). Where you come from.

CW: It does, but you know it's quite hard to think of an offensive word, maybe, you have some in, in China or Ja . . . do you have a word in Chinese, a rude word for white people?

Yang Yang: Em . . . (?unclear)

CW: You do.

Yang Yang: We call Americans, an (?unclear).

CW: What's . . . how do you translate that.

Yang Yang: Oh it's, Americans, young, young and Western, Western man. It's quite popular . . . whatever you call young men . . . (laughter) foreigner . . . (?Unclear).

CW: Foreigner.

Yang Yang: Foreigner means Western people.

Yukako: Is that what you say?

Virginia: When we talk about American, we call them junkies, and . . . I think it's a bit negative, Gringos . . .

Xavier: . . . yeah, Gringos . . .

(Various responses)

Virginia: Giddies . . . all the foreign people are Giddies . . .

CW: . . . are giddies? Is that rude?

Virginia: But it's not offensive . . .

(Various responses)

Yang Yang: It's fashionable to use a certain word to describe people outside . . . your group, communicative, em, . . . I think that's quite popular . . .

CW: It's . . . you always have words to describe the outsider but what is interesting is the degree of offensiveness, you know, and how you judge that, I mean I think "Jap" is quite a strong word. German, what, do you know the rude word for German? Perhaps you don't.

Monica: Tell me.

CW: Kraut.

Monica: Oh yeah, Krauts, yes.

(Laughter)

Woman: What?

CW: Oh don't you mind that too much.

Monica: No I don't hear it, no. No.

CW: Would that bother you, if anybody . . .

Monica: Er, Kraut, it comes from sauerkraut, which is, er, something people eat there, sometimes . . .

CW: Cabbages.

Monica: Cabbage. Yes.

Yang Yang: History. Chinese history in Japan. Japanese history. Because of the war, yes, there is a kind of, em, languages, I think, which is offensive to Japanese with (uses Chinese term, "shalloo-sha") which is a little . . .

(Laughter)

Yukako: Ah yes.

Yang Yang: Indicates, er, the, the size of Japanese . . . Chinese are not at all, as we call, "shalloo sha" . . . "little Japanese" . . .

CW: Oh really, because to me I would have thought Japanese and Chinese are . . . you know . . . the same . . .

(Various responses)

CW: Are Chinese taller?

Xavier: Yes, yeah no.

(Various chatter)

Woman: . . . negatively . . . we don't say Japanese, we say . . . (?unclear) . . .

Woman: . . . yeuch . . .

CW: Anyway we've gone on to, it's interesting this sort of stereotypes and what makes things offensive, largely from the . . . again it's a sort of association, so golliwog, "wog", is another problem

with that term. Right, em, okay. Can't remember what I was going to talk about but that's interesting anyway. What else were we going . . . em . . . so really getting back to the sources of knowledge, it's, it's this area really that, you know, one has, one is . . . depend(?) more in some genres than others, some kinds of text. Some texts make knowledge much more explicit, they spell things out a little bit more. What was interesting is something that came up also from Yukako's diary, I think, in connection with this, which students often say is that the popular papers are more difficult to understand than the quality papers.

Virginia: Oh yes.

CW: Is that something that you've noticed as well. (Various affirmations). Em, and, do you want to, anybody want to say why that is in connection with what we've been talking about . . .

Virginia: I think they are more culture-specific in the way they explain things . . . the knowledge that you are supposed to have.

CW: And this relates doesn't it to, er, readership, doesn't it, I mean, all these relate, that they are, they are assuming a very specific, perhaps, narrow readership, er, and that excludes a lot of people, it's more exclusive in some ways.

Virginia: But people, English people that read quality papers cannot also understand tabloid papers without any difficulty.

CW: They can or they can't?

Virginia: They can. I think . . . no?

CW: Not always. Not always, because, a lot of the cultural references refer to . . .

Virginia: They focus on themes that they, that the quality papers don't usually pay attention to maybe . . .

CW: Sometimes, because, they, they make references to aspects of popular culture like soap operas. Em. I always remember way back, em, there was a headline which said something like "Elsie leaves the Street". Elsie leaves the Street. And, em, and a lot of readers wouldn't know what this means, but of course if you watch Coronation Street (various murmurs) . . . Elsie leaves the Street . . . having said that of course even if, you know, even if you don't watch Coronation Street, you, it's part of your cultural knowledge, you

know. What, the soap operas, popular figures, children's toys as we see, all this kind of paraphernalia. So . . . we see then, you know that, clearly recent events helps too, in a topical paper, because, this is why I gave you two reports there, you need really to link things together often. If you know, if you've already watched this on the news perhaps, the TV news, or, and you know something about this issue, then you've got more knowledge to bring to bear. Ah, you can link the events, as well. Okay, let's, em, take a short break, er, but if it could be very short because then I want us to do some more detailed work on the text itself, and I think I'd like to suggest, just taking this one we've looked at most, because it's shorter anyway, the, em, the one we've been looking at, "Council seeks compromise . . .", we'll take that one . . . so just take, if you'll come back in five minutes, because otherwise we'll get . . . just to stretch your legs a little bit . . .

(Tape switched off/on)

CW: Okay, okay, right. Where were we, what was I going to ask you to do. Let me see. Um. Yes. Um. Because I think it, it's worked quite well the last few times, I hope you don't mind if we stick to, em, well, we've got six, we'll work in twos and look again at *interpersonal*, *ideational*, *textual*, okay . . . this text is quite interesting for instance to give you some ideas, I'm saying this text that we've got up here, em, in terms of the *participants* . . . who is selected to be talked about, who are the (students shuffle papers/plane noise over) . . . we've talked about *participants*, okay, we could talk about actors as well, the actors in the drama. Who are the people who are mostly talked about, but then we can always think about, remember this term *invisible participants*, the people who are affected, potentially, but are not explicitly mentioned, that's one thing. Also, this time perhaps look at the, more of the kinds of verbs that are used in conjunction with the subject, for example, "support floods in for childminder". The fact that "support" is made the subject of the sentence, and this word "floods" in. The council . . . because we've got two headlines, we've got the council as well, that means the local council. I think, like, Ealing Council here, you know, the town hall, em, "seeks compromise over golliwog". So we've got, if you think of

what we've got, "golliwog", which we now realise is the "racist toy", but it's only your knowledge of the world, your cultural knowledge that allows you to link that, because racist toy could be something else, couldn't it. But we're supposed to make those links. We've got "golliwog", we've got "the childminder", we've got "the council" . . . we've got various other people. How are they represented in the text, particularly as I say, the verbs . . . and then the *interpersonal* meaning . . . how the writer, we've got a named writer here, expresses attitude particularly, em, and what, eventually, what impression we get about which side, if you like, the writer is taking, or maybe it's quite a balanced picture, and then the *textual* meaning is, as we've talked about a lot, the, which comes first, you know, which information comes first, which comes last, which is given prominence, em, cohesion, and so on, which you know about, don't you. *Cohesion* and *coherence*. *Quotation* is very important. Yukako was talking about that, under that. Em. Are people quoted directly or do we get, "he said that", and what difference does it make? So I think under textual meanings, is the, I'd like you to think particularly perhaps about *quotation*, how, what people said, is indicated, is represented, and whether that makes a difference. So, you see you've got a rather neat handout, you could say, em, perhaps if you two could look at *interpersonal*, *ideational* and *textual*, shall we do it like that, and again you can . . . I'd quite like you to fill in here, if you don't mind, or you, and at the same time mark your text, but if you don't mind I'd quite like to be able to take this in to see what . . . alright so I'll leave you to get on with that and as I say work in pairs . . . and Monica is so interested in Noddy she can't put it down. (Laughter). I stole that from my little niece, I shall go back and tell my brother you know that his child, he's allowing his child to read a racist book, he won't like it . . . oh, I mean, because he thinks, he certainly doesn't think he's racist, so we'll have a fight about it no doubt . . . anyway I'll switch this off

People work in pairs

CW: I think we'll have some feedback now. Hello, hello, hello. Are we ready to have some feedback, eh, to get some comments, some of you would seem to be saying quite a lot. (Pause). Yep, good, I'm glad

you, carry on, you've got a lot to say. Let's, em, what shall we begin with, it doesn't really matter, let's begin with the ideational group, em, this relates, you remember, we can try and sort of indicate it up here, em, who, who is being talked about primarily, and so on. So Yukako, are you going to be . . .

Yukako: Oh yes . . .

CW: Report back on your discussion.

Yukako: Yes, er, we found lots of participants here and, em, well the main participant is the council . . .

CW: . . . mmmm, well, I think the council, I suppose, yes, the council . . .

Yukako: . . . and childminder. Yeah, and childminder, Mrs Newton.

CW: Yes.

Yukako: And also, em, em, in relation to "support", the parents and other childminders . . . are very important as well.

CW: Yes, do you want to say a bit more about why the, why the parents come into the picture, not the children so much, but the . . . (noise on tape) . . . it's the wrong way round, that's better . . . why, yes because the other noun, the noun that leads the whole article is "support", isn't it. Do you want to say something more about it, whose support and what kind of support.

Yukako: Yes, er, what we, em, found confusing is, er, a bit like, em, em, support for, what . . . we are talking about. Is it, well because they, this Mrs Newton's attitude is not so clear, clearly said here, we don't know if she's a real racist or just doing her job as a childminder, we don't know that. And then, it, eh, we have to know that first. And this "support" . . . meanings become a different meaning as well. Is it supporting her being racist or is it supporting her being a childmind, good childminder, we don't know yet. (Laughter).

CW: That's very interesting. What evidence in the text is there for those positions, do you think, or why, or let's put it differently, why is it ambiguous.

Virginia: She never says she's not a racist. She never says that. And I think she is so convinced of the way she's been brought up,

and, everybody's been reading these stories for a long time, and, maybe we are all racist and we don't realise. It's a part of our conscience, consciousness.

CW: What is racist, this is the thing.

Virginia: And maybe the council is trying to reject this, and try to, try to, em, em, separate the concepts and tell you that this is racist, I don't know.

CW: Who's trying to say that, sorry.

Virginia: The council, the inspector, the, em, but it's also funny that, em, the inspector is Lorrie Lane, they give us the name, and they also straightaway, they say that he is a Rastafarian.

CW: "Lorrie Lane, a Rastafarian", that's right.

Virginia: Yes. It's, maybe they are saying that he is, em, he considers the toy a racist toy because he's a Rastafarian not because he's an inspector, it's like he's not objective.

CW: Mmm.

Virginia: Maybe.

CW: That's an interesting point. That the first desig, desig, well it does say "because one of its inspectors", yeah, "Lorrie Lane, a Rastafarian", but then you might say, is that relevant. You know, do we need to know whether he's a Rastafarian.

Virginia: Yes, that's why, why do they say it.

CW: Sure, and it's, that's always an interesting thing when you're looking at participants, what information is selected and what is relevant.

Virginia: It's like when we were talking about the naughty, black face.

CW: Yes.

Virginia: The same.

CW: That's right, you can make that connection. Why, why mention something, because one of the, we don't state the obvious. But what about the way the council is described, we've got the council here, it just says council, no, no article. Omitted. But then when the council is mentioned again, eh . . .

Virginia: Greenwich, Greenwich Council.

CW: Yeah we have Greenwich Council here.

Virginia: And later, "we", the pronoun, "we want a compromise . . . We need one before . . .".

CW: Right, a "council spokesman said", yes. But we've also got here, the "Labour-controlled" local council.

Yukako: Yes, yes.

Virginia: Ah yes, we also noticed that.

CW: Do you want to say anything about that?

Virginia: We noticed that they were saying it was "Labour-controlled", why do they say it's Labour-control.

CW: Again, is that relevant?

Virginia: Yes. I think that for the newspaper it is relevant.

CW: Why?

Virginia: I think they support, er, Mrs Newton, the childminder.

CW: So generally you think, the general effect, which is what we're interested in, the overall effect you would say is supporting Mrs Newton . . . against?

Virginia: I think so.

CW: Against the council?

Virginia: I think so.

CW: Anybody want to say any more about the Labour-controlled council. Is that just innocent information, perhaps, or . . . again you need the, you need some background knowledge here really, but you have to take my word for it here now because I'm interpreting, my reading, you know this is my interpretation of text. Er. A paper like, this is from, actually it's The Times, wasn't it.

[Virginia: The Times, is Conservative.

[Yukako: The Times is Conservative, yes.

[Monica: I think, yeah, I think it was The Times, yes.

CW: I forgot to ask Monica, an important question, why she chose it in the first place. It's The Times. The Times is a fairly . . .

Yukako/Virginia: . . . Conservative . . .

CW: . . . Conservative paper . . . not as much as the other, as The Standard, em, but nevertheless there is a tendency to have an idea of what we call "looney left" councils. You know what "looney" means? Mad. You know these mad, extreme left-wing councils who are always making a fuss about racism, you know.

Virginia: Oh. What happened.

(Laughter)

CW: Oh! What's happened.

Virginia: It's a "looney", er . . . machine.

CW: It's broken.

(Laughter)

CW: Anyway, we can't use that.

But, anyway, any other observations you want to, em, you want to make about the verbs, perhaps, that are used.

Virginia: They're all mental processes, more, the majority of them.

Yukako: It's "offended", or "refused".

Virginia: And, for instance, em, they don't stress that the parents and the childminders wrote the letters, they say, "letters have been pouring in" . . . they start a sentence like that, they don't stress who is, it's later on that you get the, er, it's impersonalised, I don't know how to say it in English.

CW: Yes, it is, it's, they want to emphasise, it seems to me, the . . .

Virginia: . . . the support . . .

CW: . . . the support. That's, that's the main subject, perhaps you've found that in looking at the textual features. Eh, support. Let's move on then to talk about the text, the textual features, it all comes together really; textual features are how the language is put together really, what is . . . do you want to say something Xavier.

Xavier: Well, we have been focused on how the information is presented. Em. So we have the direct speech and indirect speech. Eh. The first one, direct, we have the, eh, council spokesman, Mrs Newton, the council spokeswoman, and then Mrs Newton again. In, indirect speech, we have Mr Lane, the inspector, then, well, we are not very sure if this part . . .

CW: . . . which part is that . . .

Xavier: . . . er, about the booklet, which says "the golliwog has no place in society." We are not sure if this is, er, indirect speech.

CW: Which column is that?

Monica: Third and fourth.

CW: Oh yes. Third and fourth. Bottom of the third, em, right, "Mrs

Newton left", no, "Mrs Martin left Mrs Newton . . . a booklet by the Working Group Against Racism in Children's Resources, which says the "golliwog" has no place in society." That's an interesting example, because, now that's indirect speech, em, "the "golliwog" has no place" - "golliwog" in inverted commas . . . this means that, we, I would say, I don't know if you would agree, that we're not sure what the original report actually said. Did it say - actual words - "the 'golliwog' has no place in society", we don't know, because it's not directly quoted, do you see what I mean. Any other comments you want to make on that . . . Xavier.

Xavier: Well apart, er, from this, we have been commenting on the whole text, because, er, we thought that, em, the writer is for Mrs Newton, it's not for the council, the council is in a weak position here.

CW: And how is that indicated, do you think, by the language, if it is, if there's something in the text that suggests that.

Xavier: Yes, er, let me see.

Monica: We were saying, coming back to, eh, direct speech, if you look at these parts that are direct speech and you take them as a dialogue, what they say in these parts of direct speech is, the council says "We want a compromise" and we need to cool down first, and then comes Mrs Newton in saying, well I didn't need any time to "cool off", eh, well maybe, they, I've got no problem, they've got the attitude problem, so she comes over very strong. And then again the council in direct speech, in the middle isn't it, em . . .

Xavier: . . . can't see it . . . just over here . . .

Monica: Yes, here the council says, well she is "a good and caring childminder", but okay, it remains our opinion that the golliwog can cause offence. And then Mrs Newton comes in again saying, well if they refuse to register me, I will not have any choice but, I mean I think again, they've got the problem. So if you just look at these things I think the way he has chosen direct speech makes very clear what his position is himself, what his opinion is. By putting the council in a weak position.

CW: You mean the writer.

Monica: The writer.

CW: The writer, yes, yes.

Monica: What the council says as well, nothing much. They want the compromise now. But Mrs Newton is very strong. She knows what she's doing.

CW: That's right, yes.

Yukako: I think the, the last bit as well, within the quotation, but, it says "has gone quite mad". It doesn't say, The Times won't say that kind of thing but she says.

CW: Yes, that's nice, that's nice. Well put.

Yukako: It's within quotations.

CW: She's allowed to say that so The Times - exactly - you know, might seem like it's a more serious newspaper, but it's allowed to end, and that's the importance of where you place, what prominence you place. Like, you know, it ends with Mrs What's-her-name has her last word, Mrs Newton has the last word. Let's just, let's just move on then to finish with, er, er, with the interpersonal features 'cause we've . . . how much does the author reveal of himself or herself. We've already touched on this of course. Want to say a little bit more about that.

Valle: Er. The, em, I think one of the most important things we have noticed in this text has been how, er, the golly is referred to as, eh, by the pronoun, by the pronoun "it", whereas for Noddy, the other, mm, used the pronoun, "he". We think that, er, er it's because Noddy is, er, a character in, em, story, and so he is, eh, considered as a person, like a boy. And the golly is just a toy. It's a toy to play with it. Or. And I think that's one of the most important things we have noticed. Then with regard to the, the other participants, Mrs, er, Newton, and, er, the inspector are referred to as normal addressing, just Mrs or Mr, nothing special. And, er, with regard to the council. We notice, I don't know who said that, that, er, it says, er, we want a compromise. A compromise, speaks the spokesman, speaking with the "we".

CW: "We want a compromise", by the spokesman, yes. Do we have a, a title for the spokesman, do we know who the spokesman is, or is he left, or she . . . left unidentified.

Valle: I think it's, unidentified.

CW: Yes, a sort of a . . .

Valle : . . . because he speaks in terms of "we".

Yukako: There's also a spokeswoman.

CW: Does it say spokeswoman?

Woman: No, no, no, council spokesman.

Valle: No, there is first there is a spokesman, and then a spokeswoman, which are different.

CW: Oh right. Yes. That's interesting in itself. You've got spokeswoman. A few years ago you wouldn't have had . . . spokesman would have been . . . yes.

Valle: Em. About the nouns which reflect the writer attitude. We have seen some of them, for example, er, "compromise", "support", and, er, "confrontation", we have to think why they use for example "confrontation", instead of dispute, disagreement, because the difference, em, em, the connotation they can have. And one of them, emm, most important nouns which reflect, well it's not a noun it's an expression, that reflects the writer attitude for me, it's when it says the racist toy, I don't know where it is exactly now.

CW: When the headline . . . no . . .

Valle: . . . oh here . . . it says Mrs Newton has come, "has compounded the sin." The racist toy is seen like, eh, as the same, but it says, "in the eyes of the inspector".

CW: So, that's a nice point . . . "has compounded the sin, in the eyes of the inspector." What does that . . .

Virginia: I think it has to do with the quotations, I mean taking the point of view of the, er, the . . .

Yang Yang: . . . council . . .

Valle: . . . yeah but also the inspector . . .

Woman: . . . reflected in his attitude . . .

Virginia: . . . using the point of view then reflected in the narrative, it's, it's inserted.

CW: Yes, yes. But when you say "compounded the sin", this is being, this is, I think is maybe what, er, what (?) meant, er, this is the writer's interpretation of the attitude of the inspector, because it's sarcastic. The, the, the inspector wouldn't say, "this is a sin", you wouldn't go and . . . I'm sure, and there's no, but it's a way of, you

know, indicating that the inspector's exaggerating and making a fuss. So "the sin" is a very interesting way of attributing a strong disapproving, moralising attitude, which, there's no evidence to suggest was exactly what happened, so we see that kind of, you know, his interpretation indicated through that choice of words, "compounded the sin", it's an idiom, it's a cliché, em, that we use to dis, you know, to dismiss somebody.

Yang Yang: Before that, er, "racist toy" is a quotation . . .

CW: . . . yes . . .

Yang Yang: . . . racist toy, on the question of the racist toy, also in the eye of, in the eyes of the, er . . .

CW: Exactly. According to. But we don't share that.

Yang Yang: This indicates the writer's, er, attitude I think.

CW: Yes. Inverted commas are always interesting, where you get, like in the headline here, "racist toy". It's always . . . very characteristic of, of newspaper headlines, newspaper articles.

Monica: Whereas on the other hand, they don't put into inverted commas the antique golliwog, which is taken from what she was saying, Mrs Newton. She was saying, to me it's just an antique toy, or something. It's antique, and part of my toy collection, so normally he should have put this into inverted comma as well, to be neutral.

CW: To be fair, to be balanced.

Monica: Yeah.

CW: To give a balanced view. But it indic, that's interesting, it indicates, to me, I think it's fair to say, he's distancing himself from the racist position and associating himself with, it's just an antique toy, through that, through that distancing.

Yang Yang: Golly, a word here, is (?unclear) refers to the inspectors; golly has no place in society. But other place (?). Some other nouns, compromise, associate with agreements, with, eh, reservation, of the council . . .

APPENDIX FOUR

SAMPLE STUDENT DIARIES

